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Pennsylvania Grange News

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W. F. HILL
Editor

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The Dominant Issue in this Year's Campaign.

THE PEOPLE'S SOVEREIGNTY

VERSUS

TRUSTOCRACY

Showing Need for People's Veto and Direct Initiative and Giving Program of Pennsylvania State Grange, American Federation of Labor and Other Non-Partisan Organizations for Installing the System Nationally as Result of This Year's Campaign.

BY

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IN A NUTSHELL.

Representative Government is of two great classes, that in which the voters are completely sovereign, and that in which they are sovereign only as to a few things or none at all. The voters are sovereign if they have the power to initiate legislation and the power to veto such measures as they deem unwise or harmful.

Therefore, the voters of the United States, if they are to become the sovereign power, must possess this veto power and direct initiative.

The system is termed Guarded Representative Government. It exists in its completeness only in Switzerland, but we of the United States have been developing toward it for more than a century, and for a long time were far in advance of the Swiss. To install the system in the incoming Congress as the result of questioning candidates in this year's campaign is the program of organized labor, organized farmers and organized business men.

Guarded representative government *is an entirely new thing in the world, tending to produce a practically ideal civilization.* To the extent that it has been applied there is universal satisfaction except among the monopolists, but even they are really benefited, for all share in the higher civilization.

MONOPOLISTS SUPPRESS NEWS OF REFERENDUM AND NON-PARTISAN PROGRAM.

Associated Press the Instrument—Mr. Shibley's Letter Declining Presidental Nomination is Garbled.

WASHINGTON, D. C., September 8, 1904.—*Special by Referendum News Bureau.*—It is clearly proven again that the Associated Press is suppressing the news of the referendum movement for the overthrow of machine rule and private monopoly. This time it has stricken three sentences from the middle of a paragraph in Mr. George H. Shibley's letter declining the Continental party's nomination for Vice President of the United States. *This suppresses the non-partisan program of the American Federation of Labor, Pennsylvania Grange and other organizations, for the immediate overthrow of the monopolists' power in Congress. The movement is gaining headway rapidly and is of such a character that it cannot be fought openly.*

Proof of the present grave charge against the Associated Press is the identity in the wording of introductory matter and garbled letter in the *Baltimore American* and *Washington Post*, which is as follows except that the omitted portions are in italics and small caps.

"George H. Shibley, of this city, who was nominated by the Continental Party at Chicago as candidate for vice president, has sent the following letter to the notification committee of the party declining the nomination.

DR. JAMES P. LYNCH,

Chairman Notification Committee, Continental Party,

Chicago, Ill.

Dear Sir and Brother:

With the general objects of the Continental party I am in hearty accord. But I place the initiative and referendum as the dominant issue, for it is only through the establishment of this system that the people can overcome the monopolists and secure the desired legislation. The mistake of the Continental party, in my opinion, and the mistake of every third party in the field is in asking that it, an organization outside the constitution and controlled by a committee (a "machine") shall be installed as ruler of the American people. *It is true that the platform includes a promise that the party machine, if placed in power,* WILL ABDICATE BY ALLOWING THE PEOPLE TO ADOPT A CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT FOR THE PEOPLE'S VETO AND DIRECT INITIATIVE, BUT NOT UNTIL IT HAS LEGISLATED FOR SEVERAL YEARS. *This is inconsistent, for elected representatives can immediately establish the people's sovereignty.* SEVERAL OF THE PRESENT-DAY CONGRESSMEN AND SENATORS ARE PLEDGED TO THIS PROGRAM IN NATIONAL AFFAIRS, WHILE THE SYSTEM IS DEMANDED BY PRACTICALLY THE ENTIRE BODY OF ORGANIZED WAGE EARNERS, BY MANY OF THE GRANGES AND BY REFERENDUM LEAGUES. FURTHERMORE, THE MERE QUESTIONING OF LEGISLATIVE NOMINEES BY THE NON-PARTISAN ORGANIZATIONS AND BY INDIVIDUALS RESULTS IN THE PLEDGING OF ALL THE CANDIDATES, THUS WINNING THE DAY AND AT ONCE. So why attempt to build another party to place more candidates in the field? Emancipation is within the people's grasp and in this year's campaign if they will only question candidates. To foster this movement, I have devoted my time and energies for four years, and the ease and rapidity with which the movement has been and is progressing is an assurance that it is along the line of least resistance. The American Federation of Labor, with its 25,000 unions and two million members, also the Pennsylvania Granges and other non-partisan organizations, are unitedly pushing this wonder-working program. My duty is to continue with them. Therefore I must decline the nomination for the high office tendered me by the Continental party. *Thanking the party for the mark of confidence and trusting that my continued allegiance to the people's* IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION FROM MACHINE RULE *will on reflection, meet with the approval of the members of the party and cause them* TO CENTER THEIR EFFORTS ON THE QUESTIONING OF CANDIDATES, I AM,

Yours for the People's Sovereignty,

Washington, D. C., Labor Day, 1904. (Signed), GEO. H. SHIBLEY.

TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, GREETING:

We are living in a wonderful age—the TRUST ERA. It began in earnest only six years ago and already the monopoly extortions that are being wrung from the American people annually are so great as to be almost beyond comprehension—about two billion dollars yearly—$125 per family each year—$10 per month.

Even more alarming is the growing centralization of political power, which has reached the stage of open repudiation of even the forms of popular government in three states, Colorado, Utah and Illinois, with the abolition of even the last vestige of popular government in Colorado. Class war is in full swing. Conditions are steadily advancing toward class war on a national scale. The culmination will soon be reached unless the people assert their sovereignty.

To assert their sovereignty and in this year's campaign through the questioning of candidates is the program of the Granges of Pennsylvania and other states, the American Federation of Labor with 25,000 Unions and two million members, some of the Business Men's Associations, People's Sovereignty Leagues, and Referendum Leagues.

The people's sovereignty is to be attained by installing a right to a direct vote on public questions, through the referendum and the initiative, a system fully established in Oregon, South Dakota and Switzerland and in several of our large cities, and largely applied in every state in the Union. Only a slight change is required to extend the system to national questions.

The benefits from an extension to national affairs are assured, for the history of the system demonstrates that it peaceably opens the way to better social conditions—a tendency to equal rights to all, special privileges to none. The Swiss and the people of Oregon and South Dakota are experiencing this wholesome change and could not be forced back to machine rule, unequal rights, plutocracy and class hatred.

All these strong claims are fully demonstrated in the succeeding pages, and there is described, also, the complete cycle from political liberty that existed A. D. 100 among the Teutons down through feudalism and back to the full restoration of political liberty as it exists in Switzerland, the result of the referendum system.

There is described, also, the wonder-working system of questioning candidates as to the people's sovereignty, which has been in successful operation for two years in this country and is being applied nationally this year.

The system is wonder-working in that no candidate dares to openly oppose the establishment of the People's Sovereignty, *for his election is dependent upon the people's votes, which insures a clean sweep wherever the candidates are questioned by those who stand ready to take the case to the people.*

The system is wonder-working, also, in that the referendum is to be established nationally *without waiting to change the written constitution.* And it is to be established *as the result of this year's campaign*—no waiting for several years to elect a majority in the Senate, for the hold-over senators are to be instructed.

Viewed from another standpoint, the result of establishing a people's veto and direct initiative is to transfer the final legislative power from the party machine to the people —establish Guarded Representative Government, the next stage above Party Government.

To attain this higher stage in national affairs and in the incoming Congress is the program, as we have said, of the Granges in Pennsylvania and of many other non-partisan organizations throughout the country. *It should be the program of every non-partisan organization opposed to Trustocracy, Imperialism, Militarism, Graft and other evils of Machine Rule. To all such associations we earnestly appeal.* JOIN WITH US IN HELPING TO ESTABLISH THE PEOPLE'S SOVEREIGNTY AND TERMINATE MACHINE RULE!

To individuals we say, HELP US TO SECURE DISCUSSION OF THIS DOMINANT ISSUE. ORALLY QUESTION EVERY LEGISLATIVE CANDIDATE AT PUBLIC MEETINGS AND IN PRIVATE—PLUMP IT RIGHT AT THEM—DO YOU PLEDGE TO WORK AND VOTE FOR THE PEOPLE'S SOVEREIGNTY?

For details concerning the foregoing statements we refer to the following pages, the result of exhaustive research by one who is acknowledged to be foremost in developing the science of Representative Government. Under Mr. Shibley's scholarly leadership there has been developed the national program herein outlined for the establishment of the people's sovereignty in the incoming Congress.

Yours for Political and Industrial Liberty,

W. F. HILL,
G. W. OSTER,
W. T. CREASY,
Editors Pennsylvania Grange News.

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THE PEOPLE'S SOVEREIGNTY

VERSUS

TRUSTOCRACY

BOOK I

TRUSTOCRACY.

CHAPTER I.

TRUSTOCRACY EXISTS IN UNITED STATES.

Society is either democratic, aristocratic or monarchical, as the following analysis shows.

The earth's surface is divided into states. But definite boundaries is only one of the distinguishing features of a state. Within these boundaries there is a supreme earthly power except as limited by international law. *This supreme earthly power is termed sovereignty or sovereign power* and is so largely the dominant characteristic in a state when considered politically that it is frequently used as synonymous with "state." For example, Louis XIV said: "I am the state," referring to his sovereign power. This synonymous use of the terms is the sense in which we shall principally use them.

In some states the sovereignty is in a few of the inhabitants, in other states it is in the many. Where it is in a majority or more the state is termed a Republic or a Democracy. Where it is in one individual it is a Monarchy. Where the sovereignty is in less than a majority, but in several, it is an Aristocracy.

In the words of Dr. Burgess, head professor of the Political Science Department of Columbia University:

> Monarchy is the sovereignty of a single person, aristocracy the sovereignty of a minority, and democracy the sovereignty of the majority. * * * This classification of states is both correct and exhaustive.

In whom is the sovereignty in the United States? Is it in the majority or less than a majority? It is in less than a majority, *for private monopolies, usually termed trusts, exist on every hand.* The people cry out but thus far have been powerless.

The sovereignty in the United States, then, the supreme power, is in the trust magnates, who are far less in number than a majority. Therefore the form of the state *is an aristocracy of trust magnates.*—A TRUSTOCRACY.

Criticism will doubtless be directed against the definition on the ground that the trust magnates are not the sovereign power *even though it be admitted that they enact legislation against the people's will.* Such criticism is fallacious for it gives to "sovereign power" an unusual meaning. This juggling with terms is part of the system of false education, described in a later chapter. But even the most orthodox of university men, Professor Burgess of Columbia, admits that the sovereign power in a state *is that which really controls.* In speaking of the difficulty in locating the class in whom the sovereignty exists, he says:

> The old state *does not perceive the change at all or, at least, not for a long time, and not until after suffering many bitter experiences.* * * * The new sovereignty comes very slowly to its organization. Moreover, it organizes itself, for the most part, *in the government,* and only very imperfectly outside of and supreme over the government. *For a long time it has the appearance of being only a part of the government.**

This description applies to the trust magnates, as is demonstrated in the following paragraphs.

Comparison of trustocracy with other forms of aristocracy emphasizes its odious character. Aristocracies based upon birth have brought to the state a trained body of legislators and administrators. Aristocracies based upon mere wealth—plutocracies—were declared by Cicero to be the most hateful of all the forms of the state. But since the days of Cicero a more odious rule of the few has developed, an aristocracy of monopolists, a Trustocracy.

DEVELOPMENT OF TRUSTOCRACY.

The era of private monopoly in America began with the issuance of bank charters for the issuance of paper money by private corporations. It began in Massachusetts in 1686† and has continued to the present day.

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* Political Science and Constitutional Law, by Burgess, Vol. I, p. 69.

† Currency and Banking in Massachusetts Bay, by Davis, Vol. I, p. 7.

With the growth of cities and the need for a water supply began the contest between public and private monopoly as to municipal utilities. In New York City in 1799 were erected the first water works, since which time the multitude of municipal monopolies have developed, most of which are in private corporations.

With the invention of the steam engine and its application to cars began the monopolies in transportation, exclusive rights being granted to a railroad corporation in Massachusetts in 1825, since which time the mighty Railroad Trusts have developed.

With the invention of the electric telegraph and the installation of the first practical line in 1844 began the development which has resulted in the Telegraph Trust, also the news disseminating trust—the Associated Press.

With the issuance of the telephone patents in 1876 began the development which resulted in the Telephone Monopoly.

With the purchase of the charter of the south improvement company some thirty years ago by John D. Rockefeller and the sale or gift of portions of its stock to railroad directors in exchange for exclusively low rates on petroleum and its products, began the development which soon became the Standard Oil Monopoly.

About that time Andrew Carnegie did the same thing in the iron business, and thus began the special privileges in the iron industry which have resulted in the Steel Trust.

In 1897 the Supreme Court repealed the last of the restrictions against interstate rebates, which resulted in a wide-spread reign of special privileges in transportation, which brought forth the swarm of Industrial Trusts. Since 1897 these have extended to monopolies of iron ore beds, coal lands, salt beds, etc., and are rapidly extending to every line of manufacture and trade.

This brief survey demonstrates the modern character of Trustocracy.

You may ask, how about the dominancy of the Creditor Class? We answer that they have lost their power to limit the volume of money. This is demonstrated by the currency law of 1899, which authorized an increase of $500,000 000 of paper money by the banks but resulted in only a hundred million increase, the price of bonds rising too high to make it profitable for the bankers to issue paper money.

Trustocracy has not only wrested the sovereignty from the creditor class but has used its power to openly enslave ten millions of Filipinos on the other side of the globe, and to openly enslave the Porto Ricans. In the eyes of the law itself these people are subjects and not citizens. The products of their toil are controlled by laws enacted in the United States by the agents of the trusts. In short, the United States has become a Trustocratic Empire. A republic has no subjects.

It is clear from the above that there exists in this country the rule of the few and that it is a Trustocracy or Trustocratic Empire.

Next we shall show that those who are ruled are a specie of slaves, and then we shall point out that this white slavery is maintained through deception, and is being overturned by the adoption of the referendum as rapidly as the deception is exposed.

CHAPTER II.

TRUSTOCRACY MEANS SLAVERY OF THE PEOPLE.

The individuals in a state who are not members of the families of the ruling power are slaves.

Slavery has various stages. The lowest form is chattel slavery; the next higher is crown colonies and the insular possessions of the United States Government; the next higher grade of slavery is serfdom, then comes peasantry, then freemen who cannot vote, next voters who do not rule. The next higher stage in evolution is voters who rule—who are sovereign.

Where the voters rule it is a democracy. In some of the democracies the only ones who vote as yet are the men, but the tendency is for women to become voters, and in proportion as they do the position of women will change in many respects. For example, under man-made laws one portion of the women are slaves of so low a class that their names cannot be mentioned in society. When women become sovereigns they will protect themselves and their daughters.

The slavery of the present day is partially described in a volume by Count Leo Tolstoi, published in 1901. It is entitled "The Slavery of Our Times," and he says:

> Imagine a man from a country quite different from our own, with no idea of our history or of our laws, and suppose that, after showing him the various aspects of our life, we should ask him what was the chief difference he noticed in the lives of our world? The chief difference which such a man would notice in the way people live is that some people—a small number—have clean, white hands *but only amuse themselves, spending on these amusements the results of millions of days devoted by other people to severe labor;* but other people, always dirty, poorly clothed and lodged and fed, with dirty, horny hands, *toil unceasingly from morning to night, and sometimes all night long,* WORKING FOR THOSE WHO DO NOT WORK, BUT WHO CONTINUALLY AMUSE THEMSELVES. *

The above is applicable to Russia as well as to the United States. But we in the United States have a special brand—a trustocracy, which has resulted in a centralization of wealth far beyond the dreams of anyone of a hundred years ago, and whose lavish expenditures and debaucheries far outrival oriental monarchy at its height. And all of this wealth is heaped into the laps of the few by bondmen, most of whom imagine that they are freemen! If they have attended a college or university, the teachings have been pretty sure to strengthen the hallucination, as we shall show.

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* The Slavery of Our Times, by Count Leo Tolstoi, p. 77.

CHAPTER III.

RULE OF TRUSTOCRATS IS THROUGH DECEPTION.

A Two-Faced System of Government and False Teachings.

One of the marvels of the age is that in a land where the people are acknowledged to be the sovereign power they really are slaves and only a few know how it is done! The system will be pointed out after the forms of government have been analyzed.

In each state the sovereign power erects machinery through which it governs. This machinery or series of institutions is the Government.

Government is primarily of two types: *The sovereignty is declared to be* IN THE PEOPLE OR IN A MONARCH. In the one case the people are termed citizens, in the other subjects. The one is a Republican form of government, the other Monarchical.

Within the above described primary forms of government, namely, those in which the people are either citizens or subjects, there are secondary forms classified as follows:

(1) Legislation is direct by the sovereign power;

(2) Legislation is by those whom the sovereign appoints;

(3) Legislation is by those whom the sovereign elects;

(4) Legislation is by combination of these systems.

The first is Direct Legislation—the laws are directly enacted by the sovereign. The next system of government is Conciliary,—the sovereign power is in a king who acts through a council, the members of which he appoints. The third system of government is Representative. The fourth is Mixed Government—a combination of two or more of the other systems.

The earlier forms of democracy were all of them direct. *Legislation through elected representatives did not come into existence till about a thousand years ago*, that is in the eighth or ninth century. It was confined to county affairs till 1213.

Legislation through a council, the members of which were appointed by the king, existed in England nationally from about 827 till 1213.

The first participation of elected representatives in the national government of England was in 1213, but only occasionally till 1295, from which time till 1430 the people were represented in the commons continually except for three years, between 1397 and 1399. During the years 1295 to 1430 the system of government as a whole was mixed, for the barons legislated directly through the house of lords, the king through the council, and the people through the house of commons by means of elected representatives. Each of these three branches of the government had a veto on the others, but only the two houses could initiate legislation.

In 1707 the king of England lost his veto power, leaving the legislative power in the two houses of parliament. In 1832 the house of lords lost its veto power as to such measures as the house of commons should choose to refer to the people by dissolving and standing for re-election and securing a majority for the controverted question. Where this procedure is gone through with the system of government is purely representative, but on all other questions the English system is still a mixed government.

In America up to 1776 the system of government was mixed, while since 1776 it has been representative government.

Let us analyze representative government and we shall find the solution of our problem—how it is that the people are held as slaves to the trusts.

Representative government is of two great classes: that in which the voters are the sovereign power and that in which they are sovereign only as to a few things or none at all.

The voters are sovereign if they possess a veto power as to all bills and resolutions except urgency measures, and possess a direct initiative as to all questions. IF THIS VETO POWER AND DIRECT INITIATIVE IN THE PEOPLE IS LACKING, THEY ARE NOT THE SOVEREIGN POWER.

That is a self-evident proposition, for a sovereign power is one that is supreme within the state except as limited by international law. *Therefore the voters of the United States if they are to become the sovereign power must possess this veto power as to the acts of congress and as to the acts of legislatures and of common councils.* As yet the voters in this country possess only a partial veto power (the referendum), and possess only partially the direct initiative, consequently they are not the sovereign power. That power is in the few who control congress, the legislatures and common councils, namely, the monopolists. The sovereignty is in the monopolists, and the result is the protection of their legislative privileges and the securing of more privileges. *The only states in this country where the monopolists are out of power are Oregon and South Dakota, where there is a people's veto and a direct initiative.*

Representative government, then, is of two great classes: That in which the voter's sovereignty is guarded or partially guarded, and it follows that *representative government may be classified as* GUARDED AND PARTIALLY GUARDED.* Essential machinery in the guarded system is a people's veto (through the referendum) and a direct initiative, usually termed the referendum and initiative.† The machinery of the opposite system

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* Some years ago Prof. Frank Parsons in a chapter on Direct Legislation in "City for the People," described representative government as Guarded or Unguarded. In the above text there is a slight change, the classification is Guarded and Partially Guarded.

† In the writings of Prof. Richard T. Ely and Prof. Vincent, of Johns Hopkins, they both say "referendum and initiative." This distinguishes the people's veto power from the direct initiative. This is of great importance. Where the terms used are "initiative and referendum" the idea is conveyed of the initiative of legislation by petition followed by referendum vote. This leaves out of account the people's veto power. Both of these terms are included in Referendum System. Some people, however, describe it as Direct Legislation. This is a misnomer, as all admit. Direct legislation is law-making by the people without the employment of a representative. The referendum (the people's veto) and the initiative is a system that is the exact opposite of direct legislation—it is part of an improved system of Representative Government. The term "direct legislation" was applied many years

partially guarded representative government, by which the few rule the many through deception, is as follows:

The statement in the federal and state constitutions of this country that 'the people are the sovereign power,' *is a myth, for the laws are enacted through a system in which the people are not the sovereign power, as is demonstrated by the prevalence of trust prices.* The people are unitedly opposed to trust prices yet are unable to control the great corporations.

*This two-faced system of government, one portion declaring that the people are the sovereign power while the other portion is such that they are not, is designated by the word Diarchy.**

The object of this system is to hold the people in bondage. Did the ruling few openly declare themselves as rulers and that all the people are their subjects and slaves there would be an end to their power. If, for example, the monopolists in the United States should attempt to take a legal title to themselves and thus *openly* attack the people's sovereignty, there would be short work of their sovereignty.

The dominance of the monopolists is shown in the swarms of private monopolies termed Trusts. These special privileges of the ruling few take from the people without giving anything in return about two billion dollars worth of products annually—$125 per family each year—$10 per month.† The cost of police and military equipment for enforcing this dominancy of the few is probably $10 per family each year.

Such are the results of the two-faced system of government. It is an effective system from the standpoint of the ruling few. It is a Trustocracy. The people are the slaves of these trusts: This is shown most effectually in Mr. Opper's cartoons.

But the deception of the ruling few extends farther than the two-faced system of government, for they control the educational system *and employ only such professors as teach that this two-faced system of deceptive rule of the few is democracy and republicanism.* There isn't a professor in any university or college in the country who has fully exposed the two-faced system of deceptive rule and held his job! If academic freedom had been permitted the whole structure of falsehood and deceit would have fallen long ago like a house of cards. Attempts to maintain academic freedom have been made in various educational institutions in this country but never in any of the private or state universities has academic freedom been complete. The fundamentally deceptive portions of the scheme have not been pointed out. The most radical of the professors, even, have not done so, for they were bounced before they got that far, or they concluded to go slow.

But every American citizen can see at a glance that a veto power and a direct initiative are elements of sovereignty, and he knows that the American voters do not possess a veto power nor a direct initiative and therefore are slaves, for he who is not a ruler is ruled—the people are bondmen or freemen.

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ago by those of the Swiss who advocated that *all* laws be referred to a referendum vote. But the compulsory referendum of all laws is demonstrated to be an absurdity and wholly impracticable for a complicated civilization such as ours. Further details along this line are stated below, page 52. If real direct legislation is impracticable, is it right to apply the term to a practicable system and one to which we are endeavoring to win converts?

* The literal meaning of diarchy is the rule of *two persons,* but political scientists use it to indicate the rule of the few through a *two-faced system of government.*

† Adding together the monopoly extortions from farmers, business men and wage-earners they probably exceed two billion dollars per annum. This is based upon four estimates.

(1) In the last annual report of the Master of the National Grange, he says: "More than $150,000,000 has been lost to the live stock industry in the past year by the manipulations of the meat trust. *If the entire product of the farm*—wheat, corn, hay, cotton, live stock, dairy and fruit—*is taken into account, farmers have lost more than* $700,000,000 *in the past year through manipulations of combines and trusts. * * * Farmers have also suffered another great loss in the purchase of supplies needed in their business.*

(2) The yearly earnings in all the gainful occupations are about twenty billion dollars. That one-tenth of this goes to monopolists from excessive charges, is a conservative estimate. For example, the dividends of the Standard Oil Company for 1901 were 48 per cent. of its capitalization. And 47 other trusts averaged 7.44 per cent. on their capitalization of that year. This capitalization averaged about three times the amount of capital invested, making a 22 per cent. dividend on capital invested. In railways the profits for 1901 were as high as 16 per cent. on the par value of some of the stocks, which doubtless were half watered, thus making a rate as high as 32 per cent. of the capital invested in some roads.

(3) The capitalization of certain specified monopolies of the country is shown in "The Truth About Trusts" to be twenty billions of dollars, while all the other capital in the country is only eighty billions of dollars. In other words, the capitalization of the principal monopolies is one-fifth the total capitalization of the country, and much of the monopoly capitalization, such as Standard Oil stock and street railway stocks, is earning so much that it sells at from two to eight times its face value.

(4) The tax levied last year by means of the monopoly prices of the American Steel Trust has been carefully estimated by Mr. Byron W. Holt, an eminent statistician. He places it at $160,000,000. This of itself is ten dollars per family for the year.

CHAPTER IV.

DETAILS OF TWO-FACED SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT.

Sovereignty Actually in Party Machine.

Let us consider the details of the two-faced system of government.

1. SOVEREIGNTY DECLARED TO BE IN THE PEOPLE.

All the written constitutions in the United States declare that the sovereignty is in the people. This is stated in the preamble or in a bill of rights. For example, the constitution of Massachusetts framed in 1779, after the people by direct vote had rejected a proposed system of government, declares:

> Art. IV. The *people* of this Commonwealth have the sole and exclusive right of governing themselves as a free, sovereign, and independent state, and do, and forever hereafter shall, exercise and enjoy every power, jurisdiction, and right which is not, or may not hereafter be, by them expressly delegated to the United States of America in Congress assembled.

The Federal constitution declares:

> We the *people* of the United States * * * do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

Though the sovereignty is declared to be in the people, *it is actually in the party machine*, which operates through the governmental departments erected by the written constitutions:

II. SOVEREIGNTY ACTUALLY IN PARTY MACHINE.

The written constitutions *delegate the law-making power to the few.* For example, the federal constitution declares that all legislative power shall be vested in congress, subject to a limited veto power in the president and an absolute veto power in the supreme court, (it being authorized to declare invalid such measures as it asserts to be in violation of the written constitution).

Here, then, the final power as to legislation is declared to be in a few men *who are to be elected*, for the people reserve no veto power or direct initiative, except in Oregon and South Dakota.

Though the written constitutions declare that the legislative power is in the few who are in office. *it is false, for the power is in the party organizations*, as everyone knows. It is the party organizations that control legislation. which they accomplished by controlling the nomination and election of congressmen, president, judges, and all state officers. It is Party Government.

This system is outside the written constitution —is extra-legal.

The supreme power within the party organization is the national convention. The federal constitution does not apply, nor do the state constitutions.

Furthermore. each national convention is in no wise controlled by the proceedings of any former convention, except as the dominant element believes that the recognition of preceding principles or policies will help them when their candidates go before the people.

It follows from what has been shown that *the principles and policies which dominate the national convention* CHANGE AS THE CONDITIONS CHANCE. *Since the days of Benton and Calhoun the conditions have been* TOWARD CENTRALIZATION AND THE CONVENTION SYSTEM HAS INEVITABLY GRAVITATED IN THE SAME DIRECTION. THE DOCTRINE OF MAJORITY RULE—THE BASIC PRINCIPLE IN A REPUBLICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT—IS AROUSED IN BOTH THE DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTIONS, as we shall prove in a later chapter.

After the adjournment of each national convention the supreme power in the party is in two sets of men, those who directly control the machine *and those who dominate these men and the machine by supplying the party funds.*

The supreme power, then, is the men or corporations who supply the party funds. In this way they dominate the machine and the machine controls the laws and the execution thereof. Surely this system is complex! But added to the natural complexity is the false teachings which aim to keep the people in subjection to the few. The situation, however, is clarified by bearing in mind that the people can only become sovereign by taking to themselves a veto power and a direct initiative.

Returning to the dominancy of those who supply the party funds, the question arises, who are they—*what interests do they represent?* History demonstrates that in the existing stage of development in the United States they are the monopolists, except where the people have taken to themselves a veto power and a direct initiative. As long as the final power is in the "machine" it pays the monopolists to invest, *and they outbid all competitors.*

The foregoing facts are quite generally understood. but only a few know *how* it is that the machine of the party in power *operates through the departments of government erected by the written constitutions*—congress. the presidency and the supreme court; the legislatures, governorships and state supreme courts; common councils, village boards and the executive departments of the cities and towns.

HOW THE PARTY MACHINE OPERATES THROUGH THE DEPARTMENTS OF CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT.

Bear in mind first that the benefits to be secured by those who control the party organization are (1) control of the legislative departments in nation, state and city; (2) control of the decisions in the courts by controlling the nominations and the elections, and (3) control of the policies of the executive department of the government by controlling the nominations and elections. *In this way the entire powers of the three departments of constitutional government are controlled by the party organization,* BACK OF WHICH ARE THE MONOPOLISTS WHO SUPPLY THE CAMPAIGN FUNDS. In the words of William Allen White, in

a recent article in the Saturday Evening Post, entitled "The Dollar in Politics:"

The entrance of the corporation into American politics has been followed by grafting not only in offices *but in laws.* The corporation that desires special privileges contributes cash to the central committees of the two dominant parties, and if party managers are honest, according to the rules of the game of politics, *those contributions are the purchase prices of desired privileges.*

If a corporation running a railroad wishes to maintain high rates it is no longer necessary to buy members of the legislature—at least, not in a well-regulated state. *But it is necessary to buy the party organization that controls the legislature;* and this is done before the legislature is elected. The deed is recorded on the books of the state central committee, and if a member or group of members appears with a bill in the interest of the shippers, the chairman of the state committee makes it his business to see that the "organization" is against the bill.

Similarly, in the lower walks of politics, the county central committee protects the saloonkeeper, and, similarly, in the higher walks, the national central committee fries the fat out of great manufacturing corporations and protects them when tariffs are made; banking corporations are protected in the framing of currency laws, and ship-building corporations are promised laws to their liking.

Through the party system, as it has been organized for twenty-five years in America, a general system of grafting has arisen, involving not only the offices but the laws of the country, and through this grafting system has arisen a group of persons having the power but not the respectability, of the barons whom the English-speaking people overthrew several hundred years ago.

To the same effect are the descriptions of the party system in Lincoln Steffens' "Enemies of the Republic." In McClure's Magazine for August, page 396, he sums up the case in these few words:

Political corruption, then, *is the force by which a representative democracy is transformed into an oligarchy representative of* SPECIAL INTERESTS, *and the medium of the revolution is the party.*

It is clear that the machines of the leading parties are owned by those who find it most profitable to invest in politics—the monopolists. *They operate these machines through the departments erected by the written constitution, endeavoring to keep within the limits prescribed by the written words* EXCEPT WHERE IT IS DEEMED NECESSARY TO CHANGE THEM BY JUDICIAL CONSTRUCTION OR TO BRUSH THEM ASIDE COMPLETELY. Illustrations of what has actually been done are stated in subsequent chapters. here we are interested in nothing but the outline of party government.

Viewed at different periods of time the workings of machine rule show a development. Each step in the development has followed a development of industry and of monoply, which is part of the world-wide evolution of mankind. This development of industry has made more and more valuable the control of legislation, and administration, *resulting in a development of the machinery of party government, which in turn has become so great an evil to the people's interests that they have hemmed in the power of these party machines.* Details are stated in a subsequent chapter.

Though the people have limited in some directions the power of the party machines, the development of machine rule in other directions *has exceeded the curbing process.* To-day, for example, the power of the party machines is greater than ever before. An explanation of how this has come about will be stated in a moment.

One of the means of limiting the power of the party machines has been the establishment of a people's direct vote on public questions, terminating to that extent the final power of the party machines. The name of the improved system is Guarded Representative Government. For more than a century the people of the United States have been taking to themselves a people's veto and a direct initiative. Until 1830 the American people were far in advance of the Swiss, who have forged to the front since 1830, because their system of government had no judiciary veto or executive veto. The evils of party government quickly forced the Swiss to the people's veto. In the United States, however, the forefathers erected an entirely new system of government, avoiding party government from 1789 to 1896, since which time we have had a party system with a judiciary veto and an executive veto, which have caused the departments of justice and of administration to become saturated with the evils of party government, namely, control by those whose power is through the excessive use of money in politics.

The order of development, then, has been and is, first the development of industry, *followed by the growth of the party organization, which means an increased robbery of the people by the ruling few, then the people have terminated the worst of the evils by applying to one question and then another a people's veto or a direct initiative or both.*

This development has been quite steady in the several states, for the state constitutions are more easy to change than the federal constitution, which is an almost unalterable instrument under the existing system. Even the direct election of senators, demanded almost unanimously by the people, is still unaccomplished. *Owing to this difficulty in changing the federal constitution, combined with the development of industrial monopolies till they have become interstate, there* IS AN ACCENTUATION OF THE EXCESS OF PARTY GOVERNMENT WHICH IS STIRRING THE PEOPLE. Smoooth sailing will come when the people establish their sovereignty in national affairs. Whatever they then desire can be carried into effect.

CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF PARTY GOVERNMENT IN UNITED STATES.

Party government first came into being in England, shortly after the power of the crown was emasculated in 1688. William at first refused to recognize party, inviting to his cabinet both Whigs and Tories. "The consequence," says Prof. Goldwin Smith, in his political history of The United Kingdom, "was discord and jarring in every department, except that of foreign affairs,

which, as not being national, but European, the chief of coalized Europe kept in his own hands. Sunderland taught William that *to give unity and efficiency to his government he must call to his councils men of* ONE PARTY ALONE. To choose between the parties was after all not difficult, since it was upon Whig principles that William had been raised to the throne, and the Whigs, however some of them might have swerved from their fidelity, were enemies of the house of Stuart. *A Whig ministry, accordingly, was formed, and the Whig party in parliament was organized* AS ITS BASE *under a junto of powerful leaders.* * * * Here we have the historical origin, not of party, which, besides tearing the Greek, Roman, and Italian republics, had raged in England under Charles I, and Charles II., but of Party Government, which has now been accepted as the regular system, not only of Great Britain and her colonies, but of other parliamentary countries, and whether legally recognized, as in America, or not, is, wherever it prevails, *practically the constitution.*"

In the United States after the Revolutionary War there was party government in the several states. When the federal government was framed in 1787 *the aim was to terminate party government.* It was provided that the head of the government, the president, should not be chosen by the people acting through a party organization, but that he should be elected by presidential electors who should exercise their own best judgment. This would take the power out of the people, it was supposed. It was provided, also, that he who should receive the second highest vote for president should be vice-president. This is clear proof that the aim was to avoid party government. Furthermore, the senators were not to be elected by the people, nor were the members of the Supreme Court, who are clothed with power to veto the acts of Congress by declaring them unconstitutional. And Washington carried out the non-partisan idea by calling to his cabinet the leaders of both factions.

This new system of non-partisan government worked well while Washington was president. The new republic was successfully launched. But with Washington's retirement and even before that time, the two parties were well developed, the Federalist and the Republican parties. In 1796 the two leaders, Adams and Jefferson were elected president and vice-president. But the autocratic laws and administrative acts of the Federalist party brought the organization into disrepute, and Jefferson was elected to the presidency in 1801 by the House of Representatives. For a time it looked as though the house would deliberately defeat the people's will by electing Aaron Burr as president. This, combined with the fact that party government *was an established fact*, resulted in a constitutional amendment, that the president and vice-president should be of the same party. The amendment became part of the constitution during 1803.

The Republican party came into power March 4, 1801. Its basic principle as stated in Jefferson's inaugural address was said to be "absolute acquiescence in the will of the majority, the fundamental principle of a republic."

So successfully did the party leaders apply the principle that *by 1817 the Federalist party as a national organization became extinct.* In the words of Professor Johnston, of Princeton University:

> The idea that the people were to impose their notions of public policy upon their rulers, and not altogether to receive them from their rulers, which the federalists had always detested at heart, *had now been accepted by all politicians.**

From 1817 to 1828 there was but one national party, the Republican party.

There being but one party *it resulted in a change in the nominating system.* In 1824 the nomination of president and vice-president by caucuses of congressmen broke down, for there were four strong candidates in the one great party. At election time neither candidate received the vote of a majority of the presidential electors. The election was by the House of Representatives, resulting in Adams' election, whereas Jackson was most popular with the people. This led to a split in the party and out of it came the Democratic party with Jackson at its head and the National Republican with John Adams as leader. Four years later, 1828, Jackson was nominated by several legislatures and at many mass meetings, and was elected.

Three years afterward, 1831, *a new nominating system was invented, the National Convention.* The first one held was by the Anti-Masonic party, at Baltimore, September 26, 1831. The following December the National Republican party held a national convention and nominated Clay and Sargent. The next May the Democratic party held a national convention and renominated Jackson.

Thus originated the national convention system.

Till 1844 the conventions voiced the people's sentiments, *but in 1844 the innate evils of delegated power appeared: The Democratic National Convention defeated the people's will, refusing to nominate VanBuren to whom were pledged more than a majority of the delegates. The nominee, Polk, was a man whom the people scarcely knew.* This led to the following statement by Senator Benton in his Thirty Years' View:

> Until the convention system is abolished and the people resume their rights, *the elective principle of our government is suppressed.* The people have no more control over the selection of the man who is to be their President, than the subjects of kings have over the birth of the child who is to be their ruler.†

This defeat of the people's will in 1844 by the national convention was the first time that such a thing had occurred. Since then it has been the general rule. Says Prof. Lowell, of Harvard University:

> During the earlier history of the United States every president was a man of great personal eminence, but since the nominating convention has become fully developed, very few of them have had at the time of their first election a really high reputation in national political life.||

The evil of delegated power in the national convention system was pointed out by all the leading Democrats. For example, John C. Calhoun withdrew his name from the national convention of 1844. He did so in a letter setting forth the evils which inevitably follow the selection of presi-

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*Lalor's Cyclopaedia of Political Science and United States History, Vol. III., p. 1101.

† Thirty Years' View, Vol. II., p. 596.

|| Government and Parties in Continental Europe, Vol. II., p. 321.

dential nominees by delegates who themselves are elected by other delegates. "and of course removed, in all cases. at least three, if not four degrees from the people." These were Mr. Calhoun's words and he added:

At each successive remove, the voice of the people will become less full and distinct, until, at last, it will be so faint and imperfect, as not to be audible. To drop metaphor, *I hold it impossible to form a scheme more perfectly calculated to annihilate the control of the people over the presidential election and vest it in those who make politics a trade, and who live or expect to live on the government.*

DEVELOPMENT OF *POWER* IN *PARTY* MACHINES.

But when Calhoun penned the above indictment, the convention system was in its infancy. Four years later 1848. the national committee system was inaugurated, which holds through from convention to convention and is ramified by state committees, county committees, township committees, and even precinct committees. In short, Machine Rule has developed, and in some cases the control is in one man—the boss. The result of the system is well described in The American Commonwealth, written by the noted English statesman, Hon. James Bryce. He points out that each party in the United States is controlled by a machine, then he describes "How the Machine Works" and in conclusion says:

THE WORK OF THE MACHINE.

Observing the form of consulting the voters, it substantially ignores them, and forces on them persons whom they do not know, and would dislike if they knew them. It substitutes for the party voters generally a small number of professionals and their creatures, extracts prearranged nominations from packed meetings, and calls this consulting the pleasure of the sovereign people. * * * Thus the machine works on, and grinds out places, power and opportunities for illicit gain for those who manage it.

This description was written some fifteen years ago, since which time the trusts have developed resulting in a worse and worse tendency to autocracy and more and more money in campaigns. In the 1896 campaign something like eighteen millions of dollars was expended by one of the parties. while the other stood for such principles that it was unable to collect a quarter of a million—about one per cent of the amount expended by the monopolists and creditor class.

But this year, 1904, the national conventions of both the leading parties are controlled by the monopolists. As between contesting delegations in the national conventions many of the monopolists' representatives were seated who had no equitable title to the seats. In the Republican party the anti-monopolists from Wisconsin were turned down in the national committee *and without hearing a particle of testimony!*

REPUBLICAN MACHINE ABOLISHES MAJORITY RULE WITHIN THE *PARTY*.

The following is the written protest filed with the committee on credentials appointed by the convention:

That said committee [the national committee] *did not examine said record or appoint any subcommittee to do so,* but at the close of the argument immediately decided said contest upon the conflicting and wholly contradictory oral statements of counsel for the respective parties. * * *

We now find upon the credentials committee a number of the gentlemen who as members of the national committee were most active in their support of the cause of the contesting delegates. Other members of said credential committee, as we are credibly informed, *have been approached in advance of the hearing in some manner,* for the purpose of securing a determination of said contest in favor of said contesting delegates.

Believing, in view of the foregoing, that it would be futile to present our cause before the committee, we prefer to rest it with the Republican voters of the State of Wisconsin for their determination.

This illustrates the system whereby the great corporations defeated their enemies in Wisconsin, keeping them out of the Republican National Convention. Further details are supplied by Mr. Walter Wellman. correspondent to the Republican independent paper, the Chicago Record-Herald. The morning after the defeat of La Follette in the Republican National Convention, he said:

In writing the history of the day it is well to adhere to the actual facts, and the truth of history compels us to set it down in the record that the railroads are looking after their end of the business with their accustomed skill and assiduity.

Little Governor La Follette of Wisconsin may still have enough life left in his body to know by this time what ran over him. It was a railroad train.

This is what happened: Appeals went out from the presidents of railroads in Wisconsin to their brethren all over the country to help down this political train-wrecker of the Badger state. This was an opportunity to dispose of him which must not be neglected. And to a man the brethren responded. They went to work among the national committeemen from their regions, and when the railroads start out on a trail like that they are able to use a good deal of steam.

Every railroad in the United States that knows its business makes a specialty of attending to what are called the fine points of politics, and one of these fine points is to make sure of having friends in the organization of both of the great political parties. They may not be able to control primaries and delegates and voters, but they are strong when it comes to the selection of committeemen.

It would be interesting to know how many of the members of the committee that passed on the Wisconsin case paid their fares to Chicago. At any rate, the case of Governor La Follette and the half-breeds was lost before the members of the national committee left home. For aught I know it was a bad case, one which deserved to be lost on its merits. But it would not have made the slightest difference had it been otherwise. If La Follette had been as regular as Regulus himself, he would have been thrown out just the same. *The bullgine had its orders to run over him. And it obeyed.* It took the national committee just one minute by the watch to decide the case, 'and we could have done it much quicker if it hadn't taken us a few seconds to close the doors' said one of the jury.

DEMOCRATIC *PARTY* REPUDIATES MAJORITY RULE WITHIN *PARTY*.

In the Democratic National Convention, at St. Louis, the monopolists were equally triumphant

and equally unscrupulous. They controlled the convention and seated the delegates from Illinois that had been elected in violation of every principle of popular government. The facts are vividly described in a speech by Mr. Bryan before the convention. He said:

My friends, it is because I want the Democratic party to stand on that Jefferson principle of majority rule that I come here and present the minority report in this case. * * * These men [members of state committee and contesting delegates] say that because they certify that what they did was regular, you cannot go behind their certificate.

If this is a good law in a Democratic convention, it ought to be good doctrine in a court, and if it is good doctrine in a court, then the only thing that train robbers have to do in the future is to make a report of their transactions over their own signatures. (Great laughter and applause.) I repeat that after they have committed their crime, all that train robbers will have to do is to certify over their own signatures that it was a voluntary collection taken up for religious purposes and deny you the right to go behind the returns. (Laughter and applause.)

They tell you that the law of the party in Illinois *permits the state committee to present the chairman, and they deny the right of the convention to override the wishes of the committee.* Such a doctrine would be un-Democratic, if true, for such a doctrine would permit a past committee to fasten itself upon a new convention and dominate a new set of delegates. (Applause.)

But, my friends, that is not all, for John P. Hopkins two years ago (the same chairman of the committee) presented the recommendation of the committee, and asked a vote upon it and submitted it to the convention. Two years ago he recognized the rights of the Democrats in the State convention to elect their temporary chairman. This time he did not dare to do it, for if he had done it he would have been repudiated by the convention assembled. The minority presented a minority report, or wanted to, but the chairman of the committee, Mr. Hopkins, brought Mr. Quinn up to the convention platform, and, handing him the gavel, said that he was the chairman of the convention, and Mr. Quinn, seizing the gavel began his rule of tyranny, despotism and unfairness. (Great applause.)

They had their state committee put on the roll the delegates whom they wanted, but when the credentials committee brought in a minority report they refused to consider it and refused to allow a report upon it. And yet in spite of the fact that that convention *was not allowed to act upon its own credentials; was not allowed to decide the merits of its own delegates* yet, with all they seated they did not seat enough, *for more than half of the men actually seated by the Hopkins committee have signed petitions asking that they be sent back home and that Democrats who represent the people of that state be substituted for them in this convention.* (Cheers.) * * *

Their whole conduct shows that their purpose was conceive in sin, born in iniquity, and carried out to the destruction of Democratic hopes in that state. Give the Democrats of Illinois something to hope for. *Do not tell them that when they go to a Democratic convention they must go armed as to war, prepared to fight their way up to the chairman of the convention.*

You have not this condition in other states to-day, *but let this convention indorse this conduct, and the next national convention will see more than one State here as the result of gavel rule.* And it is because this question transcends the interests of any state or any candidate, or any faction that I am here to present the minority report, and ask you to do the Democrats of Illinois that justice that this gang denied them, deliberately and insolently. (Cheers and continued applause.)

In replying to the above Mr. Quinn said:

We put in our time, we organize the counties, and I want to say to you that the gentlemen whose seats are here contested are the men who are in the saddle, who control the party, and who delivered its electoral vote to Grover Cleveland in 1892. (Applause.)

These men who are "in the saddle" through the infamous methods described, *were continued there by the convention,* SUCH IS THE EXTREMITY TO WHICH PARTY GOVERNMENT HAS DESCENDED. Both the Democratic and Republican parties are equally bad, as we have seen.

CONGRESSMEN AND SENATORS INSTRUCTED BY NATIONAL CONVENTIONS—MACHINE RULE THE ESTABLISHED SYSTEM.

Each national convention not only decides who shall be party "boss," *but it declares as to public questions,* THEREBY INSTRUCTING ALL THE MEMBERS OF THE PARTY. *In other words, the national legislation for this great country is largely determined at national conventions, each composed of a thousand members, meeting together once in four years and for only two or three days, while the members themselves are selected, not by the people, but through a system of delegated power in which the winner is the one with the biggest pile of money!* AND BEGINNING WITH THIS YEAR THE CONVENTIONS HAVE DECIDED TO SEAT THE DELEGATES CHOSEN BY THE STATE COMMITTEE AND AGAINST THE WILL OF THE STATE CONVENTION ITSELF! ALL SEMBLANCE OF MAJORITY RULE IS OPENLY REPUDIATED! Clearly the national convention system has declined to where the monopolists are in full sway except that the patronage of the president enabled him to secure the nomination to the head of the Republican machine!

CHAPTER VI.

DETAILS OF HOW PARTY MACHINE OPERATES THROUGH DEPARTMENTS OF CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT:

I. Outline.

We have shown in the second preceding chapter that the sovereign power in the United States is in the party in power, an organization that is outside the written constitution. The dominant power in the machine is the men who supply the campaign funds, and in this the monopolists are supreme for they out-bid all competitors and can continue to do so. The party machine thus con-

trolled by the monopolists operates through the legislative, executive and judicial departments of governments, the institutions erected by the written constitution.

In thus operating the monopolists keep the machine within the limits prescribed by the written words of the constitution except where it is deemed necessary to change them by judicial construction or to brush them aside completely. This was outlined in a preceding chapter. Here we are interested in the details.

The necessity for altering the written constitution by judicial construction and by an open repudiation of it has *increased with the development of private monopoly, for the opposition has become more and more powerful,* as the following statements demonstrate:

Development of Organizations Opposed to the Monopolists.

The development of organization among the business men and farmers is almost as phenomenal as has been the development of monopoly. A recent census by the Interstate Commerce Commission, a book of 296 pages, contains the names of about ten thousand of these organizations of farmers and business men.

Turning to wage-earners we find a big increase in organization, though only a fraction have as yet begun to co-operate. In 1897, when the federal supreme court removed the legal restrictions against monopoly, the American Federation of Labor had but 265,800 members. During the succeeding six years the membership increased 700 per cent.—to 1,745,270.

The arbitration of the anthracite coal strike is one of the victories of organized labor against monopoly. Arbitration, however, would not have been agreed to had President Roosevelt worked against it. In Colorado the monopolists have been more successful, as is shown in a later chapter.

A third great contest between wage-earners and monopoly is the meat-packers strike throughout the great cities, in progress at this writing.

In the domain of strikes and lockouts the monopolists have a decided advantage for they are drawing to their side nearly all the employers of labor, most of the professional classes and many of the unorganized wage-earners. This is because the strife appears to be between capital and labor, *the real basis of conflict being concealed.* In the words of Henry George, Jr., in an article from Colorado telegraphed to the New York American, June 12th, of this year:

> The real underlying question in Colorado at this time, then, is not one of issue between capital and labor, but *a struggle between the great allied monopolies on the one side and the body of the plain people on the other.*
>
> The question of monopoly, however, is by the monopoly managers skillfully kept in the background, while the collateral and superficial aspects are deftly brought and kept to the front. The word 'trade-unionism' is caused to be made the shibboleth, and fierce passions are inflamed for and against it.

Back of the allied monopolies, of which Mr. George speaks, is a monopoly of the law-making power, through the contribution of funds to the party machines. The monopolists possess this monopoly, owing to the failure of the people to retain a veto power and a direct initiative. This is recognized by the American Federation of Labor, the Grange and the other non-partisan organizations that are pushing for the referendum and initiative. In a subsequent chapter their position is fully stated.

Result of Growing Opposition to Monopolists.

Owing to the increase of opposition to private monopoly, it has come about that in extreme cases the will of the people, even though expressed through a referendum vote, is unheeded by the legislative department of the government, and at times there is legislation by the executive department, also by the judiciary, with abolition of trial by jury and even the abolition of trials themselves—the abolition of the writ of habeas corpus, —and the machine fortifies itself with a standing army and a huge militia, all subject to its command. In extreme cases private funds are contributed to arm the public troops. Proof will be presented that these charges are true.

Returning to a consideration of the forms of popular government, we find that Congress while ostensibly sitting in the interest of the people refuses to enact laws that will curb the monopolists, with possibly one exception, the law creating a Bureau of Corporations and empowering investigations.

Passing to the judiciary branch of the government we find that it is so controlled that the unlawful combinations of capital are untouched. Few suits are started against the trusts and in no case has it lessened trust prices. These facts are known to everyone. All parties while in power have been equally backward in bringing suits against the unlawful combinations of capital. The trusts exist in open violation of law, while the people who are attempting to protect themselves from the trusts find that the government is used against them and most unfairly.

Some of the facts which prove these statements are as follows:

Chapter VII.

DETAILS OF HOW PARTY MACHINE OPERATES THROUGH DEPARTMENTS OF CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT:

II. The Congressional Machine—Monopolists Protected and People Robbed.

The fact that national laws concerning the railroads and other great monopolies are controlled by the monopolists themselves *is demonstrated by the character of the laws.* For example, the railway corporations are charging all that the traffic will bear except as discriminations are made to a favored few, who in one way and another reciprocate to the railway directors. The following

is an instance of how the public secured a statement of the exact facts as to railway domination in Congress.

The Secretary of the Interstate Commerce Commission, Hon. Edwin A. Moseley, in an address during the year 1900, before the National Hay Association said:

Since the decision of the United States Supreme Court in 1897 *the interstate monopolies are practically free to charge their patrons what they please and as much as they please for the public service they render.*

All this has been placed before Congress in the annual reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and in the past three years two earnest efforts have been made to secure the needful amendatory legislation. The first, known as Senate Bill No. 3354, was not reported by the Senate Committee. The second, Senate Bill No. 1439, known as the Cullom Bill, was at the last session reported adversely by a vote of five to four of the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce; but the bill was placed upon the calendar, and it is, therefore, in shape to be acted upon at the next session of Congress in the same manner as if it had been favorably reported.

It is a melancholy fact that remedies for public wrongs are not easily obtained in our country. Here is a great remedial statute which practically the whole people believe to have been wisely enacted, but which has become inoperative in its most important respects through defects brought to light by judicial interpretation. With a popular legislature, such as our Congress is, a majority of each branch, forty-six in the Senate and one hundred and seventy-nine in the House, must not only be secured, *but the measure must run the gauntlet of the regular committees and receive the approval of the steering committee, to say nothing of the many pitfalls which may be dug for it in the legislative practice.*

Thus it follows that the Cullom Bill, though indorsed by commercial interests generally and by petitions containing thousands of names, receiving active support in all sections of the country, AND PLAINLY CERTAIN OF PASSAGE IF PUT TO A BALLOT OF THE VOTERS, *can be delayed in committee and finally passed over in the rush of business at the close of a session,* AS THE RESULT OF THE EFFORTS OF A NUMERICALLY INSIGNIFICANT MINORITY of those who would be affected by its provisions.

What has happened in 1900 to the Cullom Bill has happened in preceding sessions, in one respect or another, to other bills having the same object. Bills to regulate commerce can be advanced, and even passed with facility, *when the regulation* ASSISTS THE GREAT INDUSTRIAL COMBINATIONS OR THE POWERFUL CARRYING INTERESTS; but when the measure seeking enactment is designed to cut off the illegitimate advantages of the first and to regulate the charges for common carriage by the other, though the object be the welfare of the whole public, the success of the undertaking can only be secured through a popular demand which has sternly impressed itself upon the managers of parties and those who for the time being are in control of legislative policies.

THE *PEOPLE'S* REMEDY.

The foregoing is proof that at present the control of National affairs is in the powerful Few, and not in the Majority. The remedy, manifestly, is for the voters to take to themselves the power to *directly ballot upon an Interstate Commerce bill.* This, in the language of Secretary Moseley, above quoted, would make the measure "PLAINLY CERTAIN OF PASSAGE."

To adopt this system in National affairs would simply be to extend the system that is in use in all the states, and through which the Granger Uprising operated in the '70's., as is pointed out in a subsequent chapter.

Since the delivery of the foregoing speech by the secretary of the Interstate Commerce Commission the railway law has been amended, *but in favor of the monopolists and against the people,* AS IS PROVED BY THE FACT THAT IT INCREASED RAILWAY RATES WITHOUT GIVING TO THE INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION ANY POWER TO REGULATE RATES. These facts are proved by the following quotations from the last report of the Interstate Commerce Commission, December 15th, of last year:

ELKINS' LAW A BOON TO MONOPOLISTS.

The legislation passed by the last Congress, commonly known as the Elkins law, approved February 19, 1903, may properly be made a leading subject of comment. * * * In its present form the law appears to be about all that can be provided against rate-cutting in the way of prohibitive and punitive legislation. * * * *The effect in many cases was to bring* about AN INCREASE OF RAILROAD CHARGES.

Thus the Elkins' amendment to the interstate commerce law increased the people's burdens for the benefit of the monopolists. Furthermore, this Elkins' amendment has not shut off all discriminations. In the words of the Interstate Commerce Commission in the report above quoted:

We are only saying that tariffs as published and filed are now generally observed. But in some cases *the tariffs themselves are so framed and contain such provisions* AS TO PERMIT PREFERENCES without departing from their terms.

The Commission also says:

The other class of offenses which the original act prohibited are not at all restrained by the amendment in question. Valuable as this law is in the direction and for the purpose above outlined, *it has added nothing whatever to the power of the Commission to correct a tariff rate which is unreasonably high or which operates with discriminating effect.*

Congress had a purpose in keeping from the Commission the power to fix rates. The monopolists intended to put up the rates, for the formation of railway trusts had shut out competition and made it possible to mark up the rates, provided there should be no interference by Congress. On this point the report of the Interstate Commerce Commission says:

One of the most significant things in recent railway operations is the steady advance in the cost of the transportation of freight by rail. * * * First. The published rates itself has been advanced. * * * Second. Many advances have been brought about by changes in classification. * * * Third. Many commodities which formerly took a special commodity rate have been restored to the classified list. * * * Fourth. Of greater importance is the maintenance of rates already referred to in this report. Up to within a recent time many of the most important commodities were moved under special contracts and upon actual rates much below the published tariff. No exact information is obtainable to show the extent of these secret concessions; but they were very considerable. The traffic manager of one large railway system testified that *rebates and similar concessions allowed by his*

company amounted to approximately 10 per cent. of its gross freight revenues. This was probably greater than in the majority of instances, but beyond question a maintenance of the published schedules has added many millions of dollars to the net income of our railways.

What the total amount of increase from all these causes has been can not be stated with any degree of certainty, [except that] *since 1897 the average railway net receipts have* INCREASED 57 PER CENT., *while railway capitalization has only increased 4.5 per cent.* * * * The freight rate has been properly termed a tax, imposed for the benefit of the carrier rendering the service. *The effect of this advance has been to enormously increase the tax laid upon the general body of producers and consumers* FOR THE BENEFIT OF THAT SPECIES OF PROPERTY WHICH RENDERS THE SERVICE. * * * We desire to repeat in this connection that there is to-day no way in which these advances can be prevented. * * * At present this Commission can investigate and report. It has no power to determine what rate is reasonable, and such orders as it can make have no binding effect.

These advances in rates have been through a trust agreement and therefore unlawful. On this point the Interstate Commerce Commission in its report says:

They [the advances in rates] have been almost without exception the result of *concerted action.* * * * Without expressing an opinion as to whether what is done amounts to a violation of law, we wish to point out clearly and emphatically that SUCH CONCERT OF ACTION DOES PREVAIL, *and that the prohibition resting upon carriers in this respect* AFFORDS THE PUBLIC NO PROTECTION WHATEVER AGAINST SUCH ADVANCES.

These concerted advances in rates have been arbitrarily ordered by those who knew nothing about the local conditions. The Commission says:

It has been frequently said in the past that the adjustment of freight rates was a delicate problem, which could only be dealt with by those having a long understanding and intimate knowledge of conditions, and which could not be intelligently revised by any outside body. These recent advances have not been made upon that theory. *They have not originated with the traffic representatives of the various systems, but rather with the financial heads of those systems.*

The general situation as to railway rates is that the shippers consider it intolerable. Advances in published rates have been arbitrarily ordered, as has been pointed out, and, besides, the full collection of the published rates has operated to intensify whatever was wrong in the tariffs themselves. On this last named point the Commission says:

Barring discriminations between shippers caused by the payment of rebates, the secret rates actually applied were, perhaps, in some cases, less unfairly adjusted, as between different localities and articles of traffic, than were the rates named in the tariffs. When these tariff rates are exacted from all shippers, as they now are for the most part, and such rates remain unchanged or are materially advanced, THE EFFECT IS TO ACCENTUATE ANY INJURY WHICH IS SUFFERED BY THE PUBLIC. * * * This is doubtless one explanation of the marked increase in the number of formal complaints made to the Commission during the present year, which are *more than double those of the previous year, and more than four times the number received the year before.* On the face of it, this is an indication that the general maintenance of rates which now occurs increases greatly the instances in which particular shippers or entire communities believe they have grievances, on account of such tariffs, which demand redress. Yet the authority of the Commission in respect of these matters has not been enlarged in the least by the amendment in question. However plain a given case may appear, or however clearly injustice may be established by pertinent proof, the only order which the Commission has power to make is the limited and inconclusive order to "cease and desist" from charging rates or doing the things found to be unlawful. *Even that order has no binding force upon the carrier,* but can be disregarded with impunity until compliance is decreed by the courts at the end of tedious and expensive litigation. That there is such an increasing number of complaints under these circumstances, when the substantial result is little more than investigation and publicity, is accounted for by the fact that *aggrieved shippers have no other recourse, and so appeal to the Commission in the hope of some relief from conditions which they regard as* INTOLERABLE.

MONOPOLISTS SHELTERED BY TARIFF WALL.

Furthermore, Congress has left the tariff to shelter the trusts. This is no part of the protective tariff system. In the words of the Republican platform of 1896:

It [the protective tariff] is equally opposed to foreign control *and domestic monopoly.*

But only eight years after the above principle was announced the sections of the tariff law which shelter the monopolists are continued. This unfair use of the tariff is pointed out in the last annual report of the Master of the National Grange. He says:

While competition existed in this country, prices were normal, but merging of competing interests into great combines or trusts, destroyed competition and arbitrary prices took the place of competitive prices. Corporations fixed the prices of what they bought and what they sold. *Foreign competition was shut out to the extent of the wall of protection, and the manufacturer was enabled to fix a higher price in America, and make a lower price for the same article in foreign lands,* THUS USING THE LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES TO IMPOSE EXACTIONS ON AMERICAN CITIZENS HIGHER THAN ON THE FOREIGNER, thus giving the foreign agriculturist who is in competition with the American farmer an additional advantage. I said one year ago in my annual address, when that condition prevails, *and it is now admitted that it does prevail,* "Any law in force which enables manufacturers to sell, and they do sell, in foreign countries any manufactured article at a less price than they sell to American citizens, thus using the laws of our country to discriminate against our citizens, said law or laws should at once be revised, amended or repealed, and all such practices made impossible." I again repeat it, and assert that *if those who have the power to correct these abuses to American citizenship do not correct them,* THE PEOPLE SHOULD AT WILL CORRECT THEM.

FARMERS ROBBED ON EVERY SIDE.

Immediately following the above statement the Master of the National Grange says:

The American farmer meets the products of all lands and countries in the open market of the world —is in competition with the cheap lands, labor, trans-

portation and taxes of South America, Australia, Russia, and all other countries, and if the burden of paying higher taxes, discriminating and excessive transportation charges, higher prices for the machinery and all the necessary supplies with which he cultivates his lands are imposed on him, *the burden becomes unendurable, and humiliation and loss of that sturdy manhood on which the liberties and glory of this republic rest* ARE UNDERMINED AND DESTROYED.

WAGE-EARNERS ROBBED AND LIBERTIES CURTAILED.

The ruling few are robbing the wage-earners through trust prices just as they are fleecing the farmers and business men. Furthermore, the ruling few have abolished trial by jury in many of the cases in which the wage-earners are interested. This has been accomplished by extending the use of the injunction, for the procedure is such that trial is by a judge alone, and the facts in the case cannot be reviewed by a higher court. The basis of all these wrongs is a monopoly of the political power by the trust magnates. In the words of President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor, in the instructions to trade unions to question candidates:

Remember that the issue is the establishment of the people's sovereignty. It is not a labor question only nor simply a question of capitalism, but a question of monopoly. *Shall the monopoly of the political power of the country be in all the people or continued in the ruling few? It is the people against the monopolists.*

SUMMARY.

The foregoing paragraphs demonstrate that the monopolists control Congress, using it for their own personal ends and against the people. The farmers, business men and wage-earners are all injured. All, therefore, are vitally interested in terminating the rule of the few by establishing the Referendum System. In short, the people should establish their sovereignty, thus terminating the rule of the Trustocrats.

CHAPTER VIII.

DETAILS OF HOW PARTY MACHINE OPERATES THROUGH DEPARTMENTS OF CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT:

III. Judiciary Used by Trustocrats to Protect Themselves and Injure Their Opponents.

A. JUDICIARY DEPARTMENT NOT USED EFFECTIVELY AGAINST UNLAWFUL COMBINATIONS OF CAPITAL.

The reader has doubtless asked, How is it that the unlawful combinations of capital continue in the face of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law and common law provisions against monopoly prices? The answer is this: Congress has legislated in such a way that *the only individual who can bring suit under the Sherman Anti-Trust Law is the Attorney General of the United States, and the appointments to this office have been so controlled that few suits have been brought, and these suits have in no wise lessened the monopoly prices, nor has the criminal clause been applied at all.*

Such has been the result under both the political parties. The trouble is in the system of delegated power, for the monopolists with their billions of money are so strong that a president acting alone cannot overcome them, but if the people take to themselves a direct vote on public questions they will immediately control the situation.

Until the people change the system there is little likelihood that the judiciary will be used against the unlawful combinations of capital. The trustocrats will continue to use the government to protect themselves and injure their opponents. Examples of how the judiciary is used against the farmers, business men and wage-earners are as follows:

B. THE JUDICIARY USED TO ABOLISH FREE GOVERNMENT.

1. RELEASE OF RAILWAY MONOPOLISTS FROM CONTROL THROUGH REFERENDUM SYSTEM IN THE STATES.

In the early '70's the Granger Uprising brought the railways under control through the use of the Referendum System. It came about in this way. The legislatures in the several states were controlled by the railway monopolists, who charged extortionate rates and discriminated as between shippers and places. The order known as the Patrons of Husbandry was established in 1867. It began to establish lodges, each of which was termed a grange—subordinate, county, state and national granges. In Illinois, under the leadership of the granges, a call for a constitutional convention was secured from the legislature. Care was taken to elect anti-monopoly delegates, and the anti-monopoly measures which they framed were enacted into law by a referendum vote.

This was in 1870. Three years later a constitutional convention and anti-monopoly measures were secured in Pennsylvania and adopted by referendum vote. The leadership was in the granges.

In Wisconsin there was a failure to secure a constitutional convention, but an anti-monopoly bill in the legislature, introduced by Mr. Potter a grange delegate, was enacted into law by a succeeding legislature owing to the questioning of candidates under the leadership of the granges of the state.

In Iowa, too, the candidates for the legislature were brought into line, laws were enacted and railway rates were effectually controlled.

This effective control of railway rates by the states was upheld by the United States Supreme Court in 1877, *Munn v. Illinois.* During the same year the court held in *the Peik case* that the several states could control the railway rates within their borders until such time as Congress should exercise its power to regulate interstate commerce.

But seven years later the monopolists secured from the federal supreme court, by a vote of six against three, a release from state control. The court reversed itself *by holding that a state had no power to regulate railway rates* WITHIN ITS OWN BORDERS if the property or persons *were*

destined to another state (Wabash Ry. Co. vs. Illinois, 118 U. S. 557, Chief Justice Waite and Justices Bradley and Gray dissenting.) In the dissenting opinion it is pointed out that the Illinois Supreme Court disclaimed

any idea that Illinois has any authority to regulate commerce in any other state. * * * To sum up the matter in a word, we hold it to be a sound proposition of law that the making of railroads and regulating the charges for their use is not such a regulation of commerce as to be in the remotest degree repugnant to any power given to Congress by the Constitution so long as that power is dormant and has not been exercised by Congress. This case overrules the Peik case in 94 U. S. Reports, and is contrary also to the line of cases that the state has the right to regulate commerce within its borders until Congress acts in the matter through its power to regulate interstate commerce.

Thus did the United States Supreme Court *arbitrarily change the Federal Constitution* by a vote of six against three. IN THIS WAY IT RELEASED THE RAILWAY CORPORATIONS FROM THE PRINCIPAL PORTION OF THE CONTROL WHICH THE STATES HAD BEEN EXERCISING.

Two years later Congress enacted an interstate commerce law *and railway stocks rose*, demonstrating that the law favored the monopolists and was against the people.

But there was some considerable control of freight rates through the Interstate Commerce Commission. Gradually, however, the Supreme Court has nullified these provisions, finishing it in 1897. The railroads are completely released from effective control by the commission or the courts.

In the words of Judge Prouty of the Interstate Commerce Commission in the North American Review, November, 1898:

Decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States within the year have determined that the Commission did not possess powers *of the most vital consequence, which it had assumed to exercise from the first.*

With this final release from governmental control the railways extended the discriminations in railway rates, and *those who received the monopoly of the shipping rate soon had a monopoly of trade in nearly the entire industry.* In the words of Judge Prouty in his testimony before the Interstate Commerce Commission, October 5, 1899:

I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THERE IS A GREAT TRUST TO-DAY ANYWHERE—that is to say, in any one of the staple commodities handled in this country—WHICH COULD HAVE ESTABLISHED OR MAINTAINED ITSELF IN THE FACE OF ABSOLUTE EQUALITY OF THE FREIGHT RATE.

I do not mean by that that every monopoly has a rebate. I do not mean by that that every monopoly enjoys some concessions in *the rate;* but I mean if you would strip these great combinations of all dominion over, and of all participation in, *the making of the freight rate,* NOT ONE OF THEM WOULD BE A VERY DANGEROUS ELEMENT IN OUR SOCIAL POLITY.

The foregoing pages prove that the judiciary has assisted the monopolists and has injured the great mass of the business public, the farmers and the wage-earners.

2. OVERTHROW OF REPUBLIC BY JUDICIARY—TEN MILLION FILIPINOS HELD AS SUBJECTS AND NOT CITIZENS.

The monopolists have done their best to influence the appointment of judges to the United States Supreme Court bench. No judge can be appointed until his nomination is ratified by the Senate, composed largely of the monopolists' representatives. But the life tenure of the judges has resulted in many votes for popular government which otherwise would have been lost. The release of railways from state control was dissented from by three of the nine judges as we have pointed out. Recently in the Filipino cases by a vote of five against four it was decided that the constitution of the United States authorizes Congress to hold slaves, for that is the meaning where people are held as subjects instead of citizens. Furthermore, chattel slavery actually existed in the territory acquired, and it continued to exist.

That the action of the five judges was judicial legislation is stated in so many words by Mr. Justice Harlan in his dissenting opinion. He said:

The decision of the majority in this case is "JUDICIAL LEGISLATION," "THE ENGRAFTING UPON OUR REPUBLICAN INSTITUTIONS OF A COLONIAL SYSTEM, SUCH AS EXISTS UNDER MONARCHICAL GOVERNMENTS. *That result was never contemplated by the Fathers of the Constitution, and if that instrument had contained a word suggesting the possibility of a result of that character, it would never have been adopted by the people of the United States.* The idea that this country may acquire territories anywhere upon the earth, by conquest or treaty, and hold them *as mere colonies or provinces, the people inhabiting them to enjoy only such rights as Congress choose to accord to them* —IS WHOLLY INCONSISTENT WITH THE SPIRIT AND GENIUS, AS WELL AS WITH THE WORDS, OF THE CONSTITUTION."

3. GOVERNMENT BY INJUNCTION ESTABLISHED BY JUDICIARY AND NOT INTERFERED WITH BY CONGRESS (TRIAL BY JURY ABOLISHED AT WILL OF THE JUDGES—NO APPEAL—LEGISLATION BY JUDGES).

Before the judicial branch of the government had gone to the length of declaring that Congress could hold subjects and legislate for them as it alone should choose—before this occurred and leading up to it, the United States Supreme Court placed the people of the United States under Government by Injunction, *which overturns every principle of free government.* This is demonstrated by the following facts.

Government by injunction is that system of government which came into being with the new uses to which the injunction was put.

These new uses of the injunction have resulted, first, in the abolition of trial by jury in certain cases, which is being gradually extended as occasion requires; second, the system prevents a review of the facts by higher courts, and third, a new legislative system is installed whereby certain acts in opposition to the rule of the few are declared unlawful by judges whom they nominate and elect. Incidentally, the system abolishes indictment. Furthermore, one becomes a prisoner as a result

of a mere filing of charges by an attorney of the ruling few, coupled with an order by a judge. In this proceeding there are no witnesses, and no appearance of the defendant or his counsel. This is neither better nor worse than Russian despotism, and it has gone so far that in Colorado men are banished without any sort of a trial, after having been rounded up like so many cattle.

Before presenting the testimony to prove the existence of these changes in the system of government, we will outline the causes which led to the changes and show that they have come about step by step, one wrong leading to another.

The causes which led up to these changes in the system of government are deep-seated.

The development of large-scale productions is familiar to all, as also is the corresponding development of organization among the wage-earners. Both are in the line of progress.

During this development the system of government has been such that the control of legislation and administration has been in the few, except that in Oregon, South Dakota, and Switzerland the people are in power. Outside these countries the ruling few are principally the monopolists—those who have found it exceedingly profitable to invest in politics, thus securing legal privileges.

These monopolists have controlled and do control legislation. Proof of it is the legal privileges secured and the continuance of them, which now include a swarm of industrial, financial, and commercial trusts.

All of this is familiar to everyone. The features that are not usually understood are some of the ways in which the few rule.

The Rule of the Few.

The ruling few use the popular forms of government as far as they can, but wherever necessity compels they set them aside, as we have said. For example, the trusts can not be legalized for the people wouldn't tolerate it, so the machinery in the judicial department is such that *few suits are started against them.* All political parties while in office are equally bad. It is the system that must be changed. The direct ballot must be installed.

But the mere continuation of the unlawul monopolies has not been sufficient. The contest with the growing power of organized wage-earners has caused the monopolists and other large capitalists to induce the courts to take away the right of trial by jury. This abolition of trial of criminal charges by the people lodging it in a judge, an appointee of the "machine" and in violation of the constitutional guarantee of trial by jury, was brought about by issuing injunctions. forbidding wage-earners to do that which the laws had already declared to be unlawful, the object being to arrest for contempt of court, thereby abolishing trial by the people, also preventing a review of facts by a higher court.

The people have allowed all this to occur, and the powers that be went a step further. The courts began to declare unlawful that which had been lawful; for example, the judges began to declare that certain specified persons should not *speak* to certain others, *nor mail them a postal card or other writing.*

Thus the judges were installed as *lawmakers.* And on petition of an attorney and without notice to the wage-earners these judges issue warrants of arrest for violation of the injunctions, landing the wage-earners in jail where they must lie until the court's convenience to try the case. There are no witnesses, merely the bare accusation by an appointee of the corporation interested.

The use of this system is frequently sufficient to defeat the wage-earners. If it is not sufficient, then the guilt or innocence of the accused is determined by the judge who issued the injunction—jury trial is abolished, and the judge's verdict as to questions of fact can not be reviewed in a higher court.

Even this perversion of constitutional government is not the worst: the courts began to issue blanket injunctions. There is no naming of defendants, but the officers of the court can arrest whoever they choose, charging them with violation of the injunction. The trial is by the judge who issued the injunction. and there is no appeal from his verdict as to questions of fact. This is Government by Injunction. As rapidly as applied it abolishes every principle of liberty.

The foregoing statement of the case is by President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor in an extra number of the official magazine, July 15, 1904.

But even government by injunction did not reach the limit, for the ruling few became more and more powerful and so did the opposing forces. Open repudiation of popular government followed, suceeded by a repeal of certain sections of the bill of rights by the judiciary in Colorado which has legalized one-man rule. This was preceded of course, by militarism and civil war, just as one-man rule has always been established. These conditions must become national if the people do not assert their sovereignty. Some of the details of the open establishment of militarism and of autocracy are set forth in the following sections.

Chapter IX.

DETAILS OF HOW PARTY MACHINE OPERATES THROUGH DEPARTMENTS OF CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT:

IV. Monopolists Openly Repudiate Republican Form of Government in Three States.

In Colorado five years ago the people pledged the legislature to enact an eight-hour day in the unhealthy work of reducing and refining ore. A law was enacted, but the great corporations fought it and the Supreme Court of the state declared it unconstitutional, though a similar law in Utah had been upheld by the United States Supreme Court, and a similar law now exists in Kansas, Utah, Montana, Nevada, Arizona, British Columbia, and elsewhere.

After the decision in the Colorado Supreme Court the people of the state secured from the legislature the submission of a constitutional amendment for the eight-hour day in unhealthy

and dangerous occupations and then the people adopted the amendment by an overwhelming majority. But again the private corporations got in their work, this time fixing the legislature—the legislature refused to put the people's will into force, *thus openly terminating a republican form of government.*

This, however, was no new thing in this country, for in Utah during the preceding three years there was an open repudiation of a republican form of government, two legislatures having refused to install a constitutional amendment for the referendum and initiative. Likewise in Illinois the legislature elected in 1902 refused to submit to the people a constitutional amendment for the referendum and initiative as instructed to do by a direct vote of the people at the November election, 1902.

This repudiation of a republican form of government in Illinois by the monopolists was not the first offense. Two years before a measure known as the Allen bill, intended as the opening wedge for a fifty-year franchise for street railways in Illinois, was in danger of being lost and the bosses "saw that the measure must be advanced under the gavel," says Lincoln Steffens in his description of the "Enemies of the Republic." "Under the Gavel" means that the speaker refuses to order a roll-call in the face of a demand for it by the required number of members. In the case under discussion "Speaker Curtis was afraid to use force," says Mr. Steffens, "and he suddenly developed a 'gum boil' and was sent off in a special car to Mammoth Cave. The speaker pro tem. *hammered the bill through to the third reading, then it was passed by both houses and Governor Tanner signed it."**

Two years later the Allen bill was repealed owing to an uprising of the people during the campaign. The monopolists however, elected the Governor and Speaker of the House, *it being a condition of the Speaker's election that he would use the gavel when necessary to defeat the legislation aimed at the monopolists.* During the winter a bill authorizing Chicago and other cities in the state to undertake municipal ownership became so far advanced that the voting showed that the "organization" (the party machine) was in a precarious condition. What followed is thus described by Mr. Steffens:

At last the Speaker rose, pale, but with gavel in hand, to force the amendments to the Lindley Bill [the monopolists' bill]. Back of him were some women; *beside and before him stood a score of strong men ready to defend him.* The bill was called up, and Mr. Lindley offered Lorimer's Amendment Number One. The law required a roll-call upon a demand of five members. Ninety-six rose and shouted 'Roll-call!' *The Speaker would not hear; he put the amendment and, amid confusion and outcries, swung down his gavel and declared the amendment carried. Amid great excitement Amendment Number Two was offered; members cried 'Roll-call! Roll-call!' But again the gavel fell and the second amendment was 'carried,' and so, with the storm waxing, Numbers Three, Four, Five, Six were hammered through. But at the sixth* THE HOUSE BROKE AND THERE WAS A RUSH FOR THE SPEAKER'S CHAIR. If it hadn't been for the women back of him, missiles would have been showered upon him; *as it was the wave of angry members rose up to the chair* AND THE SPEAKER FLED THROUGH A BACK DOOR.

One of the members nominated a presiding officer, who was elected, and the anti-monopoly bill was put to a vote and carried. During the day an agreement was made with the speaker and his backers whereby he resumed his office and put the questions which had been voted upon in his absence.

It was during this session of the Illinois legislature that the people's instructions to submit a constitutional amendment for a people's veto and direct initiative were openly repudiated. The placid way in which the people tolerated it in Illinois and Utah led the monopolists to do the same thing in Colorado, as we have pointed out. The non-partisan organizations of the country, however, are awakening to the situation and are making the people's sovereignty the dominant issue, and during the campaign the people who possess the spirit of liberty can question the candidates on every stump and compel a discussion of the dominant issue. With the people's sentiment aroused there will be no question but that the candidates must pledge to install the direct ballot, and then an aroused public sentiment backed by the non-partisan organizations will compel the legislators to heed their pledges. Examples of how the people have forced an observance of their sovereignty will be cited in a later chapter.

* McClure's Magazine, August, 1904, p. 403.

CHAPTER X.

DETAILS OF HOW PARTY MACHINE OPERATES THROUGH DEPARTMENTS OF CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT:

V. Militarism: Growing Use of Physical Force by Ruling Few—Bill of Rights Openly Repudiated.

The standing army in the United States was formerly a small one and principally used to keep the Indians in subjection while the white men encroached on their lands. Now the standing army is more than twice as large and is used almost entirely to keep the wage-earners in subjection—overawe them while congress and the courts abolish trial by jury, substituting trial by appointees of the ruling few, and laws are enacted by the same appointees terminating free speech and a free press. Congress refuses to interfere, thus ratifying the system. Illustrations of what has already been accomplished in a few short years are as follows.

During 1894 President Cleveland sent federal troops into Illinois without a request from the Governor, thus overriding the constitution.* *This was done at the request of monopolists. They refused to abide by the constitution yet dared not seek to change it openly.*

* CONSTITUTION VIOLATED.—The federal constitution declares:

"Section 4. The United States shall guarantee to

Five years later, 1899, federal troops were employed in Idaho, the open and avowed object being the breaking up of labor unions. The following statement was issued by the officer in command:

You are therefore notified that the employment of men belonging to said [unions] or other criminal organizations during the continuance of martial law *must cease. In case this direction is not observed, your mines will be closed.*

During 1902 the Pennsylvania coal strike occurred, and the state troops were employed and government by injunction was used. The monopolists refused to arbitrate and refused for months, until the President of the United States personally induced them to do so, holding over their heads his power to call a special session of Congress, which would have been compelled by public opinion to curb the monopolists' power.

Immediately after the first great defeat, the monopolists started out to increase the military strength of the government, state and national, and to defeat the renomination and election of the nation's chief executive. The Dick Military Bill was quickly and quietly enacted into law, January 21, 1903. Its chief provisions are as follows:

The Dick Military Law—Tremendous Increase in National Force and Increased Efficiency in Each State.

Fifteen million men are made subject to military duty at the call of the chief executive, who may order them to any part of the United States and keep them in the field for nine months. In other words, every male citizen of the United States between the ages of 18 and 45, and every able-bodied male of foreign birth who has declared his intention to become a citizen, and who is more than eighteen and less than forty-five years of age, *is now a member of what is termed the National Guard or the Reserve Militia and liable to be drafted into active service and used in any part of the United States and against his countrymen whenever a one-man power may demand it.* The only reason this one-man power need assign is, that in his opinion the presence of death-dealing instruments is required to compel the people to obey Machine Rule or to repel an invasion—an invasion which the Machine, or a less fair-minded man than the present chief executive, may invite to divert the people from their domestic troubles.

This is the greatest military power ever placed in one man's hands, the object being to insure the people's submission to trust domination—the continued sovereignty of the monopolists.

New Militarism Installed by Coup D'Etat.

The adoption of this great military system was a coup d'état. *The revolutionary change to militarism was accomplished between elections—the people were not consulted.*

This required the co-operation of both the great party machines, for had it been fought by the minority party it would have so aroused public opinion as to compel a more slow approach to militarism.

This dominance of plutocracy in both the great party machines is startling, for only five years before when the bill for increasing the standing army was before Congress it was fiercely combated by the minority party machine, but last year the leadership in Congress had changed, for the minority party turned from the people's defense to their military enslavement.

Ten Months' Operations Under New Militarism.

Ten months' operations under the new system are described in the report of the Secretary of War, December 7, 1903. He says that the military forces subject to the call of the president have increased from 55,500 (the regular army) to 155,800, this increase being "the officers and men now in the service of the organized militia who have declared themselves ready to respond to a sudden call of the President."

Increased effectiveness in the states is accomplished by several provisions in the law, which was "supplemented by an appropriation of $2,000 000 in the Army Appropriation act of March 2, 1903."

While the increased effectiveness of the militia is generally desirable, yet the purpose of those who are bringing it about is to increase the power of the ruling few. The people's remedy is to oust the monopolists by installing the Referendum System.

We next come to militarism in Colorado.

Militarism in Colorado, 1903—1904—Successful Rebellion by Monopolists.

After the Colorado legislature refused to install the constitutional amendment for the eight-

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every state in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and *on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence."*

The situation in Illinois at the time the federal troops were ordered into the state by President Cleveland is described by the Governor of Illinois, Hon. John P. Altgeld, in his book, "Live Questions," pp. 661-2. He says:

Let me repeat here that up to this time [the appearance of federal troops] there had been *no serious disturbance of mails, no destruction of property and, according to the reports of the railroad managers themselves no serious interference with the operation of the railroads or with interstate commerce.*

"State Authorities Ignored."

"And let me also repeat that up to this time the state and local authorities *had been completely ignored, the state was not asked to do anything or to assist in any manner, although it was not only able to entirely control the situation, but stood ready to do it.* The special counsel for the government was also the representative of the railroads, and assistance from the state was not wanted, *but every step was taken to establish a new precedent that might be used in the future; that is, to apply only to the federal government, so that the corporations might at any time in the future be able to get federal troops at pleasure and also that the precedent might be established of authorizing the President to interfere at pleasure in any community,* because if interstate commerce is to embrace any car or any article of merchandise intended to be shipped out of the state, then there is scarcely a neighborhood in America but what some pretext could be found for sending federal troops into it."

hour day, which the people had enacted by direct vote, the wage-earners started in to quit work till the eight-hour day should be granted. The military forces of the state were ordered into the field to force the men to resume work under the conditions imposed by the ruling few or leave the state. When the state ran out of funds and the legislature if called together would not have appropriated money for a continuation of militarism, and President Roosevelt had refused to supply federal troops, *the executive of Colorado, Gov. Peabody, supported the troops from funds supplied by the private corporations—an infringement of liberties which even the despotic English kings never dared to attempt.*

These Colorado troops, munitioned and fed by corporations for private profit, waged war against the lawful organizations of wage-earners, *the object openly and avowedly being the military suppression of trade union organizations.** In this undertaking the several steps are described by Ray Stannard Baker in McClure's Magazine for May, this year. He states that private property was seized for military headquarters, the local government was overturned and subjected to military orders, a military censorship of the press was established, free speech was terminated, private homes were entered and searched without warrant, an ex-congressman who defended his office against unlawful invasion was shot, and peaceable wage-earners were arrested without warrants and locked up in bull-pens without charges and not permitted to communicate with friends. When the United States Circuit Court issued the writ of habeas corpus ordering the military authorities to bring the prisoners into court, the courthouse was surrounded with armed troops, sharpshooters were stationed on the roofs of buildings, a gatling gun was stationed opposite the entrance to the court, and to cap the climax there was marched into the courtroom an overawing body of troops who were planted squarely in front of the judge's bench. When the United States judge approached his own court he was halted with a bayonet at his breast and kept waiting the pleasure of a military officer! In the face of this open violation of the constitutional guarantee that courts shall be open and free, the attorney for the prisoners left the court. But the judge ordered that the prisoners be surrendered, for they were deprived of liberty without being charged with crime. This order of the United States Court was deliberately violated: under cover of sharpshooters and the gatling gun the military officers marched the prisoners back to the bull-pen. Finally the Governor released this batch of prisoners but other citizens were subsequently arrested without warrant, thrown into the bull-pen and held for considerable periods. Then the Governor himself deliberately suspended the writ of habeas corpus and for weeks. And peaceable wage-earners were arrested by the soldiery without warrants and marched out of the country without trial, being told that if they returned they would be killed. Even small boys and women were arrested and hurled into the bull-pen.

Later, in June, fourteen non-union miners were killed by a charge of dynamite placed under the platform of a railway station. Bloodhounds placed on the track of the one who exploded the dynamite tracked him, it is said, to the home of a well known detective in the employ of the mine owners and thence to a powder magazine of the mine owners. *It looks as though an agent of the mine owners had committed the crime to center against the strikers an enraged public opinion.*

Additional proof is the fact that shortly after the dynamite outrage and while the sheriff and coroner, who were elected by the votes of union workmen, were tracing the criminal they were called to the headquarters of the Mine Owners' Association *and forced to resign or be hanged, and the jury impanelled by the coroner was discharged. The Mine Owners' Association placed its men in office and they have not investigated the above line of incriminating evidence, and any one making public reference to such suspicions would be immediately imprisoned.**

In a former case a detective employed by the Mine Owners' Association was held for perjury committed at a trial of union men. Spikes had been pulled from the railway ties just before a train was due bearing troops and non-union men. The engineer had been quietly given the word to stop and examine the track, which he did. Union men were arrested for attempting to wreck the train, but on the trial "it clearly appeared that the loosening of the rail was the work of detectives of the Mine Owners' Association, who employed a worthless character to testify to facts incriminating the president of one of the unions. Not only was the accused acquitted, but the cases against his alleged accomplices were all dismissed, while the principal witness for the prosecution, this tool of the detectives, was held for perjury committed at the trial."†

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* There is abundant testimony to prove the above assertion. Says Mr. James H. Teller, of Colorado, brother of Senator Henry M. Teller:

In fact, the evidence is overwhelming that this [the breaking up of labor unions] was the sole purpose of calling out the troops in every instance. That purpose has been repeatedly expressed not only by the members of the Mine Owners' Association, but by Sherman Bell and the other officers of the National Guard.

It is a suggestive fact that the mine owners with all the powers of military government in their hands for nine months, have not convicted a single member of the miners' union of an offense against either life or property. And this is not due to any miscarriage of justice. On the trial of the few cases prosecuted to trial, in which it had been proclaimed that the evidence of guilt was abundant and damning, the prosecution utterly broke down, in some cases producing no evidence at all.—*The Public,* August, 1904, p. 294.

* Says G. H. Shoaf, in a letter widely published throughout the country::

Several persons have given an account of how the bloodhounds trailed the scent from the end of the wire at the Delmonico shaft to Harry Memore's house and thence to the Vindicator Powder Magazine. There are several other little things connected with the crime which the union people regard as valuable in disproving the theory held by the Citizens' alliance that the deed was committed by union men.

None of the things have been investigated by the sheriff or his aids. Public reference to them would result in the immediate imprisonment of the man who dared to state his suspicions.

† Statement by Mr. James H. Teller in *The Public,* August, 1904, p. 294.

Reviewing the military portion of the Colorado situation it is clear that all the tenets of our heretofore well-established principles of liberty and free government have been violated, and a revolution by force was inaugurated in Teller county by the monopolists and other capitalists, and the co-operative stores of the Miners' Union were looted. Says the Springfield Republican:

If it were a mob of the propertyless classes which had thus gained the upper hand in the state of Colorado, and were closing the courts, compelling judges to decamp, locking up crimeless citizens in bull pens, driving others out of the state by hundreds, dumping them without food or shelter on the prairie of an adjoining state, and destroying their property and means of livelihood, this country would shake from end to end with consternation. The mob in this case, however, is composed of the "best citizens," and is representative, particularly of the property interests. Hence its extraordinary proceedings are viewed elsewhere with astonishment, but not alarm.

COLORADO JUDICIARY LEGALIZE ONE-MAN RULE.

The suspension of the writ of habeas corpus by Governor Peabody of Colorado, was taken before the supreme court of the state, which by a vote of two judges against one, *upheld his action, but not citing any precedent.* Excerpts from the dissenting opinion by Judge Steele are as follows:

If there is any one question positively and finally settled it is that the power to suspend the writ of habeas corpus is solely a *legislative* power. * * * The executive department cannot legislate. It was against such a tyrannical monster that we triumphed in our revolutionary conflict. Our fathers sealed the conquest by their blood, and their posterity will never permit it to tarnish our soil by its unhallowed feet, or harrow up the feelings of our gallant sons by its ghastly appearance. All our civil institutions forbid it; and the manly hearts of our countrymen are steeled against it. * * *

During the great rebellion * * * when millions of soldiers were in the field and when hundreds of persons in the loyal states were suspected of actively aiding those engaged in the rebellion, and arrested, the courts might have held that the necessity for putting down the rebellion carried with it the power to arrest and detain suspected persons, notwithstanding the guarantees of the constitution, *but not one of them did so.* * * * If one may be restrained of his liberty without charge being preferred against him, every other guarantee of the constitution may be denied him.

Judge Steele also said:

A Union Congress declined to invest the beloved Lincoln with such enormous power [power to be the sole judge of when the writ of habeas corpus should be suspended], and although it authorized a suspension of the privilege of habeas corpus, it declared the superiority of the civil power by requiring the release of prisoners unless indictment was returned within a limited time.

The concluding paragraph in the dissenting opinion is as follows:

Our fathers came here as exiles from a tyrant king. Their birthright of liberty was denied them by a horde of petty tyrants that infested the land—sent by the king to loot, to plunder, and to oppress. Arbitrary arrests were made; and judges, aspiring to the smile of the prince, refused by "pitiful evasion" the writ of habeas corpus. Our people were banished; they were denied trial by jury; they were deported for trial for pretended offenses; and they finally resolved to suffer wrong no more, and pledged their lives, their property, and their sacred honor to secure the blessings of liberty for themselves, and for us, their children. But if the law is as this court has declared, then our vaunted priceless heritage is a sham, and our fathers stood "between their loved homes and the war's desolation in vain."

Strong as this language is, the judge in an earlier portion of his opinion said:

[The decision of my colleagues] is so repugnant to my notions of civil liberty, so antagonistic to my ideas of a republican form of government, and so shocking to my sense of propriety and justice that *I cannot properly characterize it.* * * * We shall depend for our liberty, not upon the constitution, but upon the grace and favor of the governor and his military subordinates.

To fully appreciate why the judge could not find language strong enough, one must examine the history of the Anglo-Saxon people. For eighteen hundred years, at least, one-man rule has never been a legally established system. The Colorado Supreme Court cited no precedent, thus demonstrating that it was a new departure. Even English Kings never possessed legally the power which the Governor of Colorado now possesses. Up to the time of William the Conqueror, A. D. 1066, there was unquestioned constitutional liberty (see page 33 below), and Magna Charta (A. D. 1215) restated constitutional rights. Among other things it declared:

"No freeman shall be taken, or imprisoned, or disseized, or outlawed, or exiled, or anywise destroyed, nor will we go upon him, nor send upon him, *but by the lawful judgment of his peers or by the law of the land.*"

The English kings during the years A. D. 1430 to the beheading of Charles I. endeavored to legally possess the power to imprison without charging an offense, but this claim was steadily fought by the House of Commons and resulted in the beheading of Charles I. Some thirty years later James II. was checkmated by the Habeas Corpus Act, and nine years later he was dethroned and the liberties guaranteed in the Great Charter were re-enacted in the Bill of Rights. This magnificent history of our people was in the mind of Judge Steele when he declared that the decision of the Colorado Supreme Court was so shocking that he could not properly characterize it.

ONE-MAN RULE IN OPERATION.

The right of one man to rule in Colorado has been applied in numerous cases. Says ex-Senator John M. Thurston of Nebraska, a strong Republican and an able lawyer:

The act of the Colorado militia in driving out of the state members of the Western Federation of Miners Saturday, was purely an exercise of despotic power. * * * It is an outrageous exhibition of power on the part of the authorities. * * * It is simply a case of mob law exercised by the authorities of the state of Colorado [acting under the orders of Governor Peabody].

Governor Peabody, however, *is simply an agent of the monopolist corporations. And he appointed as Adjutant General of the state a man who is a paid agent of the Mine Owners' Association.* It is confidently believed that the Association pays him a salary.

Furthermore, the monopoly corporations openly supplied the funds for the troops which backed up the unconstitutional acts of their agents, the Governor of the State and his Adjutant General,—THE OPENLY AVOWED OBJECT BEING TO BREAK UP THE LABOR UNIONS. On these points the evidence is convincing.

As stated in the preceding paragraph, the Colorado legislature if called together in special session would not have voted the funds for the campaign proposed by the monopolists, therefore the monopoly corporations advanced to the governor the money to pay the state militia. On this point the Army and Navy Journal says:

> But that he [the Governor] should virtually borrow money from the mine owners to maintain the troops whom he had assigned to guard their property was a serious reflection upon the authorities of the State. *That arrangement virtually placed the troops, for the time being, in the relation of hired men to the mine operators, and morally suspended their function of state military guardians of the public peace.* It was a rank perversion of the whole theory and purpose of the National Guard, and more likely to incite disorder than prevent it.

In speaking of this phase of the question Mr. Baker in McClure's Magazine observes:

> Subsequent developments show that the troops really made no attempt to do impartial police duty: they sided openly with the mine owners, were paid and directed by the mine owners. The Governor himself sided with the mine owners. The troops came out not merely to prevent violence, but *to break the strike,* "to do up this anarchistic federation," as General Sherman Bell himself told me.

In this connection we may also quote Mr. Baker's words in reference to a remonstrance made to the officers on account of the unconstitutionality of their action:

> And martial law has been neither gentle nor forbearing; when accused of violating the Constitution, Judge-Advocate McClelland remarked:
>
> "To hell with the Constitution; we are not following the Constitution."
>
> Colonel Verdeckberg, commanding officer in the Cripple Creek district, declared:
>
> "We are under orders only from God and Governor Peabody."

CLASS WAR.

The above described reign of revolution, militarism, repeal of the bill of rights in Colorado by the judiciary and the *legal* establishment of one-man rule in that state *is the logical and inevitable outcome of the centralization of power in the monopolists and the growth of organization by the wage-earners.* DIVISION INTO CLASSES HAS GONE FURTHER THAN HAS HERETOFORE EXISTED AMONG ANGLO-SAXONS. Never before was one-man rule *legally* established, nor has government by injunction existed with its loss of trial by jury, no appeal to a higher court, and with law itself enacted at the will of an appointee of the ruling power—the judge.

It will help us to realize this if we compare it with what existed before the monopoly development of 1897 began. At that time the principles of a republic existed. The supreme court of the United States declared:

> The Constitution is a law for rulers and people equally in war and in peace, and covers with the shield of its protection all classes of men at all times and under all circumstances. No doctrine involving more pernicious consequences was ever invented by the wit of man than that any of its provisions can be suspended during any of the great exigencies of government. Such a doctrine leads directly to anarchy or despotism, but the theory of necessity on which it is based is false.

This doctrine of equality before the law has given way before the concentration of power in the monopolists. *In order to protect their unfair advantages they have felt obliged to install in office only such judges as will repeal the doctrine of equal rights. The legislative bodies back up the change.*

COMPARISON WITH 1824—1844.

Compare that with the power of the people when the American republic was at its height! From 1815 to 1822 the property qualification for voting was removed wherever it existed. Then followed "an uprising of a free people." It split the one great party and there came forth from the Democratic party and the National Republican party. The Democratic leaders, Jackson, Van Buren, Benton and others, did their best to secure a direct vote for President and Vice President in 1824 and again in 1825-6, but were prevented by the unfortunate requirements for amending the federal constitution. *The people, however, dominated in legislation.* Says De Tocqueville, who visited America at about this time:

> The deeper we penetrate into the inmost thought of these parties, the more do we perceive that the object of the one is to limit, and that of the other to extend, the authority of the people. * * * When the democratic party got the upper hand, it took exclusive possession of the conduct of affairs. *The more affluent classes of society have no influence in political affairs; and wealth, far from conferring a right, is rather a cause of unpopularity than a means of attaining power.* The rich abandon the lists, through unwillingness to contend, and frequently contend in vain, against the poorer classes of their fellow-citizens. As they cannot occupy in public a position equivalent to what they hold in private life, they abandon the former, and give themselves up to the latter; and they constitute a private society in the state, which has its own tastes and pleasures. They submit to this state of things as an irremediable evil, but they are careful not to show that they are galled by its continuance; one often hears them laud the advantages of a republican government and democratic institutions when they are in public. * * * But beneath this artificial enthusiasm, and these obsequious attentions to the preponderating power, it is easy to perceive that the rich have a hearty dislike of the democratic institutions of their country. The people form a power which they at once fear and despise.

CHAPTER XI.

DETAILS OF HOW PARTY MACHINE OPERATES THROUGH DEPARTMENTS OF CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT:

Part VI. Chief Executive a Dominant Power—Monopolists Endeavor to Own Him.

Reviewing the foregoing it is clear that the system of machine rule is such that the chief executive is the dominant power in Colorado until there is an uprising of the people.

But it is in national affairs that the chief executive is most important. He is commmander of the entire army and navy and through the power of patronage largely dominates congress. It is he alone who can call it in special session or refuse to do so. And it is he who nominates to the vacancies in the court that has an absolute veto on the acts of congress.

It follows that the monopolists are extremely careful who shall possess these mighty powers.

The people should be equally careful until they attain their sovereignty.

This concludes our description of Party Government. It has been shown that the sovereign authority is the party in power and that the control of the party is in the trust magnates. In short, the state is a Trustocracy.

The remedy, manifestly, is to abolish the system through which the few are in power, which is accomplished by establishing a people's veto and a direct initiative. These additions to congress, the legislatures and common councils result in a system in which the people's sovereignty is guarded—it is Guarded Representative Government.

The people's veto and direct initiative have had a gradual development extending back through the centuries. This history in considerable detail is presented in the following division, Book II.

BOOK II.

REMEDY FOR TRUSTOCRACY—HISTORY OF EVOLUTION OF SOVEREIGNTY AND REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT.

It has been assumed that the establishment of the people's sovereignty in this country is in the line of progress, and that it will make for peace. To demonstrate this and to describe in detail the wonderfully effective results of the people's sovereignty, is the purpose of this division, Book II.

The development of the human race is governed by the laws of the universe, just as surely as is the development of the universe itself. Therefore, to ascertain the future of a people we must examine their past and ascertain the principles of their evolution, and know also the existing conditions. A knowledge of these facts and principles enables one to broadly outline the immediate future. Everyone impliedly recognizes this possibility, for he himself plans for the morrow, basing his expectations on certain principles and a knowledge of existing conditions.

In the following pages is considered the evolution of sovereignty and of representative government.

CHAPTER XII.

STATES HAVE INCREASED IN SIZE AT TEMPORARY EXPENSE OF SOVEREIGNTY IN THE PEOPLE.

History shows a development of the human race, as we have said. This development or evolution is seen in all the departments of life, one of which is *the increasing size of the state.* Back in the year A. D. 100, among the ancestors of the German people and of the Anglo-Saxons, the states were so small that the men met annually in a public assemblage and enacted the state laws, acting also as the supreme court, and electing executive officers for the ensuing year. In the several counties and townships, also, there were direct legislation assemblages and the direct trying of law suits and direct election of executive officers.

This and much more is described in "Germania," written about the year A. D. 100, by Tacitus, the Roman historian. The substance of the book, together with the results of researches by modern students, is set forth in "The Origin and Growth of the English Constitution," a two-volume work by Hannis Taylor, LL. D., professor of constitutional common law of England and of international private law, Columbian University.

These small Teutonic states, as we were saying, have been consolidated until there exists the great area of the British Empire, the German Empire, and the American Empire, while over all there is a World-State, as is evidenced by a large body of international law, and an international tribunal at the Hague, with occasional international congresses. This world-state is becoming more and more organized and soon will provide for compulsory arbitration in place of war; and then will come the disarmament of the world. Such is the tendency of evolution.

But while the state has been undergoing the increase in size, which implies a larger and larger increase in the area over which human law becomes dominant and war ceases, THERE HAS BEEN A LOSS OF SOVEREIGNTY IN THE PEOPLE WHICH HAS NOT YET BEEN FULLY REGAINED ANYWHERE EXCEPT IN SWITZERLAND. In Switzerland only are the people the supreme power, for in that country alone is there, as to national, state and municipal law, a People's Veto and a Direct Initiative. In the other states the tendency is in that direction, with the United States in the lead. In the words of Hon. James Bryce in The American Commonwealth (chap. 78):

UNITED STATES ON THE VERGE OF COMPLETE POLITICAL LIBERTY.

One of the chief problems in America is to devise means whereby the National Will shall be most fully expressed, most clearly known, most unresistingly and cheerfully obeyed. * * * Towards this goal the Americans have marched with steady steps, unconsciously as well as consciously. *No other people now stand so near it.* * * * She has shown more boldness in trusting public opinion, in recognizing and giving effect to it, than has yet been shown elsewhere. Towering over presidents and state governors, over congress and state legislatures, over conventions and the vast machinery of party, Public Opinion stands out, in the United States, as the great source of power, the master of servants who tremble before it.

This was written fifteen years ago, and during these years the same trend toward majority rule has continued, *and is about to be fully realized,* as we shall demonstrate.

CHAPTER XIII.

DEVELOPMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT:

Part I. Outline.

A. REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT A DISTINGUISHING FEATURE OF GREAT MODERN STATES.

Turning from a consideration of the near approach of a guarded system of representative government in the United States, the reader's attention is directed to the fact that Representative Government is a distinguishing feature in all the great modern states, and that in Switzerland the system is developed into the guarded form. Let us briefly trace its development.

B. SPIRIT OF LIBERTY THE BASIS OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT.

Representative government did not exist at the time of the Roman Republic or Empire. It did not appear among the Roman people because there was not enough of the Spirit of Liberty. Sons were ruled by the father so long as he lived, and this rule extended to the grandchildren.

To the north of the Roman state, however, in a colder climate and with more rugged scenery, a race existed which evolved more slowly, developing a spirit of liberty which emancipated the son when he attained his growth. And these liberty-loving, hospitable, strong and courageous men, *insisted upon political freedom*—public business was transacted in assemblages in which each possessed a vote.

Under this system of direct legislation self-interest prevented the granting of legal privileges. And there being no legal privilege the result was equal rights in the land, which each year was apportioned equally.

C. DEVELOPMENT OF STATES—TEMPORARY LOSS OF PEOPLE'S SOVEREIGNTY.

But as the states grew in area, principally through conquest, there was an interference with the sovereignty of those who were annexed. The Teutons, however, endeavored to engraft their liberty-giving institutions and as rapidly as possible, though without permanent success for the slavish ideals and customs of the conquered people finally overturned the transplanted institutions.

In Britain, however, which later became known as Engla-land, the land of the Engles, the conquest was by small bands from the mainland who drove back the native population instead of bolding them as subjects. *Thus the invaders transplanted their own institutions and in their purity. Britain became "a Germany outside of Germany"* AND IN THIS LAND OF THE FREE THERE DEVELOPED REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT, FIRST IN THE HUNDRED AND SHIRE AND THEN UP INTO THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT. This has been copied by all the states of Europe except Russia and Turkey, by all the states of America and Australia, by Japan, and by the world-state which holds international congresses and has an international court. The earliest form of representation was as follows:

D. EARLIEST FORM OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT IN POLITICAL AFFAIRS.

In each township of the transplanted Anglo-Saxons there were elected annually by the assembled citizens an executive board consisting of five, a chairman and four associates, termed the Gerefa and four Selectmen known in later days as the Reeve and four Selectmen. To-day in New England there are elected annually four Selectmen and a Chairman. In the Central and Western States they elect four Supervisors and a Chairman. Thus the system has come down for at least 1800 years, the only change being in the names. The system, therefore, is the natural expression of a people who possess local self-government.

Back in the early days the Gerefa and the four Selectmen attended the public assemblage known as the hundred-moot or court and the shire-moot or assemblage, *but in their individual capacity at first*, though they must have been looked up to because of the qualities which caused them to be elected as public officials, and looked up to because they knew the needs of the public and were public officials.

In the course of time the attendance at the annual meeting of the hundred-moot and shire-moot was by the selectmen only except that a few of the citizens attended. Freemen who were not selectmen attended only in small numbers. The great majority remained at home attending to their work, for the mere power to appear prevented bad legislation.

THUS ORIGINATED REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT IN POLITICAL AFFAIRS. THE PEOPLE'S SOVEREIGNTY WAS GUARDED, FOR THEY WERE ENTITLED TO ATTEND IN PERSON.

E. DEVELOPMENT OF THE ENGLISH STATES TO A SINGLE ORGANIZATION—SUPPRESSION OF WAR, ESTABLISHMENT OF LAW.

As the small Anglo-Saxon states confederated or were conquered there was no interference with the annual assemblages except that the power to make treaties and to make war and to suppress war was in the dominant king and assemblage, or in the king and council.

About the year 600 the number of states was reduced to seven, the Heptarchic kingdoms, and about this time the people became Christians.

National unity came first in the Church. In 673 the Pope through Theodore, his representative, held the first national church council in Britain.

Political consolidation gradually took place. By 827 the seven kingdoms became merged in a single state under the King of Wessex, who styled himself *Rex Anglorum*—King of Englishmen. Thus was a great state evolved.

And the state continued to increase in area along with a development of national government.

F. DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL GOVERNMENT IN ENGLAND LEADING UP TO DOMINANCY OF MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, WHO ARE ELECTED BY THE PEOPLE.

National organization progressed slowly. The united kingdom was harassed by the Danes and

the Northmen, who conquered considerable areas, only to be ousted from most of them. In 958 the Danish portion of England became united to the Anglo-Saxon portion. At various other times other small states or portions of states were incorporated.

The national government was the king and a council of wise men—the Witangemot or Witan.

This national government had a most important function, for between the various sections of the country *it preserved peace, thus preventing encroachments and warfare between the several localities,* WHICH HAD BECOME MILITARY ORGANIZATIONS. The people had lost their liberties, the unrestrained desire for conquest of each other had led to a military system of government, the Feudal system, in place of Majority Rule. The baron and every man within the baronage were tied together as "lord and man," and pledged to stand together against the neighboring communities. This compact was enforced by a land tenure. Every land-holder was bound to render definite military service in exchange for protection by the lord. And to prevent division and weakness the lordship descended to the eldest son.

Thus the sovereign people of early times lost their liberties. *It came about during the era of an increasing size of the state.*

The evils of this feudal system are almost beyond comprehension. Something of an idea is gained by the following statement as to what occurred in 1135, forty-eight years after the death of William the Conqueror:

> As soon as the royal authority gave way in the struggle for the crown, [says Prof. Taylor], the land was rent by strife between baron and baron, who arrogated to themselves all of the powers of petty despots. They fortified their castles, they engaged in private war, they struck their own coins, they exercised private jurisdiction,—in a word, they reproduced for a time all the evils of continental feudalism which the Conqueror, by his far-sighted policy, had hoped to render impossible in England.

The manner in which political liberty was reestablished in England out of this military system of feudalism is instructive, for it outlines in a broad way the principles of political development, especially a step by step progress. Some of the principal features are as follows:

The evils of feudalism, coupled with the war spirit which led to it resulted in Britain in one great state in 827, a date we have already mentioned. In subsequent years the area of the kingdom continued to increase.

The functions of the national government did not at first include the levying of a direct tax. This power was first exercised in 1008 in a tax levied for defense against the Danes, and for the building of ships, and was termed ship money. The tax was on land. Previous to this time the only direct tax levied among the English people had been by the subdivisions of the state *and each levy had been by direct legislation or through a guarded system of representative government.* This fact is of great significance. We of to-day who are ruled and taxed by the trusts have an idea that we are far superior to our ancestors, whereas we have no such conception of liberty as they had.

Returning to the history of taxation without representation, we find that the ship money tax of 1008 was continued year after year, and with the development of national functions the taxes levied by the Witan were increased in various ways.

During these early years of the national government it was comparatively weak and it tempted a great robber. William, Duke of Normandy, who visited England during the reign of Edward the Confessor and saw its condition, laid claim to the throne upon the death of the king, A. D. 1066. He demanded that the witan elect him, but it chose Harold, whereupon William summoned his vassals, hired other troops, invaded England, killed Harold in battle and defeated his army. Then the earls and barons who constituted the witan invited William to become king. He diplomatically hesitated, consulted his followers, and accepted. On Christmas day he was crowned and took oath to abide by the laws and administer justice. This made him the legal king and stamped as treasonable the acts of all who should henceforth oppose him.

As to national questions he was an absolute ruler, but he ruled through the existing forms. He dominated the witan. Such uprisings as occurred among the barons he put down and appointed Normans in their place. He abolished the overlords of the barons—abolished the four earldoms, and strengthened the national government in other ways. He succeeded admirably and nineteen years after he began, and two years before his death, he caused a survey or census to be taken. The ownership of every piece of land was tabulated, likewise every piece of personal property, including the white slaves—the vassals of the barons, with a comparative statement as to who owned the property under the preceding king. Then William summoned every landholder to a meeting at Salisbury—some sixty thousand landholders, "and all bowed down to him and became his men," says the Chronicle, written at that time. They "swore oaths of fealty to him, that they would be faithful to him against all other men." And a statute was enacted that every freeman should take the oath of fealty to the King. William then passed over to Normandy and the next year he died.

The inestimable value of William's work is shown in the fact that it enabled his successor to put down a revolt of the chief men of Norman blood in England, who rose under the leadership of Bishop Ode. William II. appealed to the loyalty of his English subjects, promising to surrender all unjust taxation, to surrender his hold upon their forests and to surrender other privileges. The plan succeeded. The people rallied to the king's standard and sustained the national government. The power of the barons was greatly weakened *and the people received back some of the privileges which the King had wrung from the barons and people.*

This system of transfer, namely, from the barons to the king and thence to the people has continued to the present time. By 1832 it extended to where both the House of Lords and the king had lost the veto power and direct initiative. The House of Commons and the people were in possession of the sovereignty. The lords acknowledged that in case of disagreement with the commons the commons by dissolving and going to the people could place the final decision in the people.

BEGINNING OF REPRESENTATION IN NATIONAL GOVERNMENT, A. D. 1213.

Next we will turn and note the steps whereby the people came to be represented in the national

legislature. It first came about in 1213. King John, in an endeavor to limit the power of the barons and clergy summoned from the townships to a national assembly the people's representatives—the Reeve and four Selectmen.

Thus did local self-government force its way up into the national assembly.

WINNING OF THE CHARTERS, 1087-1688.

Two years later, 1215, the barons, clergy and people forced from King John the Great Charter of Liberties, Magna Charta, *which had been preceded by charters from all the successors of William the Conqueror except Richard and John.* This securing of charters by the English people as the result of a determined demand for political and economic rights DEMONSTRATES THAT THERE EXISTED CONTINUALLY THE OLD-TIME SPIRIT OF LIBERTY.

OUTLINE OF ENGLISH SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT, 1213 TO PRESENT DAY.

Changes come slowly in evolution. The people were not represented continuously in the national government till 1295. At this time elected representatives became permanently seated in parliament and it divided itself into two houses, the Lords and the Commons, each with a veto on the other, with their combined action subject to a veto by the King.

The system continued for one hundred and thirty-five years except for three years, 1397-1399. During this one and a third centuries, the power of the people increased and to a remarkable degree.

But by 1430 the power of the barons was greatly diminished, and at that time the self-interest of the clergy caused them to turn and exert their political power against the people. *thus enabling the king, acting through his council, to become dominant.* Parliament was so controlled that it disfranchised all the people except those who "have free land or tenement to the value of forty shillings the year at least, above all charges." The far-reaching effect of this can be seen when it is considered that the modern equivalent of this forty shillings rental is probably 150 to 200 dollars per year. This qualification for voting disfranchised most of the people. *It was the first disfranchising statute ever enacted by the Anglo-Saxons.*

From this time on the king ruled through his council. This conciliary system continued till 1641, when it was terminated at the beginning of the Long Parliament.

Then came a contest between the king and parliament, which continued until the establishment of a republican form of government in 1649—The Commonwealth.

But the system soon lapsed into a monarchical form which has continued to the present day.

In 1688 the king's power was emasculated. William and Mary were elected by parliament *and upon condition that they should recognize the continued supremacy of parliament.* The agreement is known as the Declaration of Rights or Bill of Rights. For a time, however, the king exercised a veto power but discontinued it in 1707, *since which time no English king has vetoed an act of Parliament. Party government has prevailed.*

In 1832 the House of Lords lost its veto power whenever there is a disagreement with the House of Commons and it chooses to refer the case to the people. The members elected to the new House of Commons enact a bill incorporating the people's will and the lords ratify it.

G. NATIONAL GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED STATES—SOVEREIGNTY IN THE MONOPOLISTS.

But in the United States the people have no such powers as in England. Here in the Western world *there is an absolute veto power in nine men who hold office for life and whom the people do not elect.* Furthermore, their verdict has not been changed by the people since 1803, except through civil war, so difficult is the amendment of the federal constitution.

And there is a veto power and the power of patronage in one man whom the people do not nominate, for this is determined by delegates who are elected by other delegates, who are named by committees that are known as machines. In the words of Senator Benton in his Thirty Years' View, describing the national convention system:

> Until the convention system is abolished and the people resume their rights, *the elective principle of our government is suppressed.* The people have no more control over the selection of the man who is to be their President, than the subjects of kings have over the birth of the child who is to be their ruler.*

Furthermore, *one branch of the national legislative body, the Senate, is not elected by the people but by the railroads and other special-privilege corporations,* the exceptions being in the southern states where direct nominations are made.

And there is the still further fact that *a great question never goes to the voters for settlement, as is the case in England,* for the Senate and Supreme Court are *not* elected by the people and the House is elected for two years while the president is elected for four years.

And, worst of all, congress and the president *are* INSTRUCTED *by National Conventions that are dominated by a "machine."*

H. PEOPLE'S VETO AND DIRECT INITIATIVE THE REMEDY FOR NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY IN THE MONOPOLISTS.

The remedy, and one that is being forced in this year's campaign, as we shall show, is to transfer the sovereignty from the monopolists to the people by urging them to vote to establish in themselves a right to instruct congress and the president through a referendum vote—a direct ballot. This is reasonable, practicable, and the system can be installed in the incoming congress. Then through the direct initiative the people will secure the submission of constitutional amendments for direct election of senators and president and vice-president, also direct nominations for these offices and for the national house, and a constitutional amendment for the usual form of the referendum and the initiative. And at the same time that these amendments to the constitution are being proposed, bills will be framed for the control of interstate railways and other national monopolies, then the bills will be circulated for signatures along with proposals for constitutional amendments and when sufficient signatures are secured will be filed with Congress, which will

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* Thirty Years' View, Vol. II, p. 596.

have a full year in which to consider them, take testimony, hear argument and frame competing measures, which will be submitted to referendum vote along with the measures as originally framed, the people taking their choice or rejecting both.

This is a practicable and safe system, for *the bills will be carefully framed and the truth brought to light* BEFORE THE MEASURES CAN GO BEFORE THE PEOPLE, and then when the bills go to referendum vote *the people can accept one or more bills and reject the others.* This is conservatively progressive.

I. WHY THE REFERENDUM SYSTEM IN NATIONAL AFFAIRS IN UNITED STATES IS SURELY TO BE ADOPTED IN NEAR FUTURE.

Before going into farther details as to this national program it is best to demonstrate that the referendum system is in full operation in some of the states, in partial operation in all of them, *and that the interstate monopolies of to-day were formerly only state monopolies and actually controlled through a direct vote of the people.* NOW THAT THE MONOPOLIES HAVE BECOME INTERSTATE THE DIRECT BALLOT MUST ALSO BECOME INTERSTATE, THEREBY OUSTING THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE MONOPOLISTS.

This evolutionary phase of the direct ballot is all-important. Progress is step by step, as is evidenced by the preceding history. Unless it is shown to the people that a contemplated step is actually safe and sure they refuse to take it. With this fact in view there is herewith presented in considerable detail the Rise and Progress of the Referendum in the United States, first as to the people's veto and then as to the direct initiative, including an outline of the development of these systems in Switzerland.

CHAPTER XIV.

DEVELOPMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT:

Part II. People Gradually Assert Sovereignty by Establishing Referendum System.

A. DEVELOPMENT OF PEOPLE'S VETO IN UNITED STATES AND SWITZERLAND.

1. *CHANGES IN SYSTEMS OF STATE AND MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENTS IN UNITED STATES.*

The regulations which prescribe a system of government are termed the constitution. The first Referendum Vote upon a state constitution anywhere in the world was in Massachusetts in 1778.

This marks the beginning of a new development in constitution-making. Before this time every constitution of a state wherein the people were too numerous to meet in public assemblage had been adopted by delegates. The people of Massachusetts inaugurated a change. They were accustomed to a direct vote on public questions at town-meeting and they extended the system to the taking of a direct vote on the proposed constitution *and rejected it.* They did so because it did not limit the power of the legislature, whereas all Americans and their ancestors, from the time of the successor of William the Conqueror, had been protected from legislative usurpation by a Bill of Rights.

The people who next secured a veto as to the system of state government were the people of New Hampshire, in 1779. And practically the same thing occurred as in Massachusetts—they vetoed the proposed system of government. They did so because it placed too much power in the hands of the few. A revised system was adopted without referring it to the people.

Gradually the people in states other than Massachusetts and New Hampshire secured a veto as to constitutional law. This right was secured in Kentucky in 1799; in Mississippi, 1817; Connecticut, 1818; New York, 1821; Virginia, 1830; Tennessee, 1834; North Carolina, 1835; Pennsylvania, 1838; Rhode Island, 1842; New Jersey, 1844; Maryland, 1851; Ohio, 1851; Georgia, 1865; South Carolina, 1868. And in all the new states the constitution was adopted by the voters instead of the few men in the constitutional convention. Thus the voters in all the states except Delaware have secured a veto power as to constitutional law. In later years, however, the race question has interfered with the direct ballot in the southern states.

Before this veto power was secured at all widely, manhood suffrage had been attained. It was secured in the older states from 1810 to 1822, while in the western states the system grew up with the country.

2. *DEVELOPMENT OF PEOPLE'S VETO AS TO LEGISLATION—A RELATION BETWEEN INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT AND THE NEED FOR A PEOPLE'S VETO AND DIRECT INITIATIVE.*

Next we shall trace the development of a people's veto as to law-making as distinguished from the framing of the system of government, and shall point out a relation between industrial development and the extension of the people's veto.

From the time of the independence of the thirteen states till about 1825, industrial development was slow. In 1825 the Erie Canal was opened. Its pronounced success and evident bearing upon the prosperity of New York gave a new impetus to the internal improvement idea. During the same year, 1825, the New York Central Railway system was begun. From this time on, especially after 1832-33, when an era of paper money inflation began in this country and in England, there was a period of speculation and railroad building. *The political party in each state was in full control of legislation, and history shows that they granted legal privileges in all directions, and bonded the states to get funds to build railroads, turnpikes, canals, and other improvements.*

The growth of public debts during the twelve years succeeding 1830 was from $13,000,000 to $200,000,000, *an increase of 1,600 per cent. in twelve*

years. The rake-offs which the legislators secured from this huge expenditure of public funds can readily be understood by every one who is at all familiar with public contracts under party government. This, also, was at the time when the spoils system was extended to national affairs. Manhood suffrage prevailed and every one was awakening to the possibilities of political "graft."

Of the railways started under state ownership, in Michigan, Pennsylvania, Illinois and Virginia,* *they were all sold out to private corporations.* On this point and the granting of subsidies, Prof. Edmund James, in a report of a committee on transportation to the American Economic Association in 1887, says:

> The states were eager to have railways, so eager, in fact, that they began to construct railways on their own account, or to grant large subsidies to those who would build them. When grave abuses showed themselves in this policy, instead of trying to remedy them by securing a better administration, they [the party in power in each state] allowed their administration to grow worse, and threw up the attempt to build government railways [sold out to private corporations the people's properties] and opened the doors to so-called competitive building. They allowed any five or ten men to start in on the construction of a railway who could scrape together a few thousand dollars to start with.†

This looting of the public was added to *by legislation which permitted the canals to be bought up by their competitors, the railways.* On this point Prof. James says:

> The railway promoters saw very quickly that the best thing for them to do was to get hold of the canals and let them go to ruin. Accordingly, in all countries they began to acquire the canals. They were most successful in this in England and the United States, where they were able to ultimately get possession, if not of all of them, at least of enough to enable them to control practically the waterways.||

Beginning in 1839 a depression set in and continued for several years. The parties in power in the several states did not levy sufficient taxes to pay interest charges on the state debts, *and repudiation began.* The result was that in Rhode Island in 1842 the constitutional convention limited the authority of the party in power in the legislature by providing that each proposal to increase the state debt beyond a total of fifty thousand dollars *should be subject to a veto by the people.* The only exceptions provided for were in times of war and in case of insurrection or invasion.

The next year (1843) the people of Michigan secured a similar change in their constitution. A year later the people of New Jersey did likewise. Two years later the people in Iowa and New York placed similar provisions in their constitutions. The system has been adopted in many other states.

Thus the beginning of the era of internal improvements was followed, necessarily, by the installation of a people's veto as to the creation of state debts. And we shall find that *each industrial development has been followed by a misuse of authority by the party in power wherever it has possessed the final power.*

For example, during the early period of railroad building the party in power in each legislature could give money to private corporations to build railroads, taking in exchange stock or bond. This occurred in Massachusetts, Maryland, Kentucky, New York, South Carolina, and other states.* This practice, extremely beneficial to party managers, *was terminated by the people. They took to themselves a veto power.*

And there are instances of where the power to sell or lease state property is transferred from the party managers to the people. For example, the Illinois constitution of 1870 provided that the sale or lease of the state canal must receive the approval of the voters. The legislature of 1882 passed an act ceding the canal to the United States "to be maintained as a national waterway for commercial purposes." The people voted on the proposed law and ratified it.

The determining of the cost of a public building has also been placed in the hands of the voters. This was done in the Illinois constitution of 1870, and in the Colorado constitution of 1876.

The voters have also taken from their elected representatives the power, in many cases, to finally determine the amount of taxes. The Colorado constitution of 1876 thus restricts the legislature. Similar provisions appear in constitutions of Montana, Idaho, Minnesota and other states.

Of more importance was a provision placed in the constitution in Iowa and in several other states that the chartering of corporations to issue paper money should be subject to a people's veto. *This system, wherever applied, terminated the wild-cat paper money.*

This was during the years 1846 to 1865, at which time congress levied a ten per cent. tax on all paper currency issued by state banks. About the time of this withdrawal of the currency question from state legislatures, another monopoly question came prominently before the people—the railroad question.

Railway Monopolies in States Curbed by Indirect Initiative and People's Veto.

In the domain of railways, the political parties in the several states granted such legislation as the private corporations desired. The result is thus described by Prof. Edmund James in a report to the American Economic Association in 1887:

> Suffice it to say that, taken as a whole, they [the railroad corporations] became unbearable. Arbitrary charges, high charges, discriminations between persons, things, and places, disregard of the right of the public in every direction, became characteristic of the management of such a large number of the roads as to make railroad fairness a mere byword. *A general demand made itself heard for some sort of regulation. But by this time the railroads had become so powerful that they were able in some states* PRACTICALLY TO CONTROL ANY LEGISLATURE THAT COULD BE ELECTED *in such a way as to prevent any action unfavorable to their interests, no matter how much their own action was unfavorable to those of the public.*

But the voters in the several states had it in their power to correct the evil. In the words of

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* American Economic Association Series, Vol. VI, p. 47.

† American Economic Association, Vol. II, pp. 251-2.

|| American Economic Association Series, Vol. V, p. 288.

* American Economic Association Series, Vol. VI, p. 45.

Mr. Justice Bradley, of the United States supreme court:

If our legisatures become too arbitrary in the exercise of their powers, the people always have a remedy in their hands: *they may at any time restrain them by constitutional limitations.*

And the voters in many of the states did thus restrain their legislatures. In Illinois a constitutional convention was secured during 1870 and the instrument as framed was enacted into law by a direct vote. *In this way voters tied the hands of their elected representatives.* The article on corporations provides:

Railroad corporations that parallel or compete with another line *shall not be consolidated;* that "the general assembly shall from time to time pass laws establishing *reasonable maximum rates of charges* for the transportation of passengers and freight on the different railroads in the state"; that "the general assembly shall pass laws *to correct abuses and prevent unjust discrimination and extortion* in the rates of freight and passenger tariffs on the different railroads in this state, *and enforce such laws by adequate penalties, to the extent, if necessary, for that purpose, of forfeiture of their property and franchises.*"

These are some of the constitutional limitations in Illinois. In Pennsylvania and one or two other states the voters likewise provided that freight rates should not be unduly high, and that no discrimination should exist against individuals or places.

This constitutional legislation in two or three states and statutory legislation in other states was secured by the voters after a prolonged and somewhat tumultuous uprising. It was generally known as

The Granger Uprising.

The term Granger, however, is too narrow; for the revolt against railroad over-charges and discriminations extended throughout the country. In the words of Prof. Hadley, of Yale University, the people "were dangerously near the point where revolutions begin."

The situation in 1873 is well described by W. M. Grosvenor, in the Atlantic Monthly for November. He said:

The few men who control the great railway lines have it in their power to strip Western agriculture of all its earnings—and not after the manner of ancient highwaymen, by high-handed defiance of society and law, the rush of swift steeds, the clash of steel, and the stern 'stand and deliver!' The bandits of modern civilization who enrich themselves by the plunder of others, come with chests full of charters; judges are their friends, if not their tools; and they wield no weapon more alarmingly than the little pencil with which they calculate differences of rate, apparently so insignificant that public opinion wonders why the farmers should complain about such trifles. Yet the farmers have complained, and, complaining in vain, have got angry. *The farmers' movement threatens a revolution in the business of transportation, if not in the laws which protect investments of capital.*

Prof. Hadley, in his book on Transportation, says (pages 133-135):

The really wide-spread agitation for the control of the railways through state laws dates from 1874 [the year after Mr. Grosvenor penned the foregoing].

The state of feeling which was developed through the community only wanted organization to become all-powerful. It found this organization in the Grangers.

* * *

The first tangible results were reached in Illinois. The constitutional convention of 1870 made an important declaration concerning state control of rates, on the basis of which a law was passed in 1871 establishing a system of maximum rates. This law was pronounced unconstitutional by Judge Lawrence. The result was that he immediately afterward failed of re-election, solely on this ground. The defeat of Judge Lawrence showed the true significance of the farmers' movement. *They were concerned in securing what they felt to be their rights, and they were unwilling that any constitutional barriers should be made to defeat the popular will.* They had reached the point where they regarded many of the forms of law as mere technicalities. They were dangerously near the point where revolutions begin.

But they did not pass the point. The law of 1873 avoided the issue raised by Judge Lawrence against that of 1871. Instead of directly fixing maximum rates, it provided that rates must be *reasonable, and then further provided for a commission to fix reasonable rates.* Similar laws were passed by Iowa and Minnesota almost immediately afterward. The legislature of Wisconsin went even further, fixing, by the so-called Potter law, the rates on different classes of goods at figures which proved quite unremunerative. The railroads made vain attempts to contest these regulations in the courts. They were defeated again and again, and finally, in 1877, the supreme court of the United States sustained the constitutionality of the Granger laws.

But seven years later, 1844, the federal supreme court reversed itself. By a vote of six against three it arbitrarily changed the federal constitution *by holding that a state had no power to regulate railway rates* WITHIN ITS OWN BORDERS if the property or persons *were destined to another state* (Wabash Railway Company vs. Illinois, 118 U. S. 557, Chief Justice Waite and Justices Bradley and Gray dissenting.)

Thus did the United States supreme court release the railway corporations from the principal portion of the control which the states had been exercising.

Granges Work For Interstate Commerce Law.

The Granges then began to urge *Congress* to protect the people from the monopolists. The house passed the Regan bill for an interstate railway commission, but the senate rejected it, and submitted a bill more favorable to the monopolists. At the next session of congress the same progress was gone through with; and during the succeeding session a similar deadlock occurred, but conference committees reached an agreement and the compromise measure became a law. *Railway stocks went up,* thus demonstrating that the monopolists were well protected.

Monopolists Again Released by Supreme Court.

But the supreme court whittled away the people's slight protection. Various features in the interstate railway law were declared unconstitutional, and by 1897 the interstate commerce commission was deprived of practically all power over railway rates and discriminations. The people were completely at the mercy of the monopolists, *and have been kept so,* see page 10, above.

SUMMARY AS TO THE PEOPLE'S VETO IN THE SEVERAL STATES.

Reviewing the foregoing subdivision it will be observed that there is a relation between industrial development and need for a people's veto and direct initiative. Whenever in any state, the development of industry and of the party system was such that the rule of the few, through party government, became excessively oppressive the voters worked together until they secured from their so-called representatives—the party in power in the legislature—its consent that they the people, might cast their ballot upon the question of holding a constitutional convention (or of amending the constitution). Then at an election the people voted to hold a constitutional convention, and a still later day elected representatives who met together and decided what changes the people would be allowed to vote upon. These changes were then submitted to the people for acceptance or rejection.

Through this clumsy and incomplete initiative and clumsy referendum—the submission of a constitution with no opportunity to vote separate sections—*the voters remedied the worst of the evils until the monopolies became interstate.*

To such an extent have the people taken to themselves a veto power in the several states that *the constitutions resemble statutes.* This stripping of power from the political party is described by the Hon. James Bryce in "The American Commonwealth" as—

> A salutary effort of the forces which make for good government, *opening for themselves a new channel.**

Oberholtzer, in "The Referendum in America," says:

> We have to-day come to the point when our state constitutions are nothing short of codes of law giving instruction to the legislature and the other agents of government on nearly every subject of general public concern, and often stating the methods which shall be used in legislating, if not, indeed, actually legislating, on local questions. * * *
>
> The constitutions have been the repositories for much of the legislation, which before was left to be enacted by the legislatures.†

Although many of the worst evils have been rectified by legislating through constitutional conventions and the compulsory referendum, it is readily seen that *during these years the people were largely ruled by the few.* They had no direct initiative as to constitutional law, no direct initiative as to statute law, and no veto as to statute law except in a few of the more important instances above noted. There is great need for a direct initiative and veto as to statute law, for the control of legislation is largely in the party managers, who usually are the agents of the men who contribute the campaign funds—the monopolists. These few men have successfully prevented direct nominations and other forms of direct initiative, and have successfully fought the people's veto. Until the people secure a direct initiative and a veto power, they are subject to the rule of the few. The statement in the bill of rights that the people are the sovereign power is false *except as they make themselves so.* This has been done in South Dakota, Oregon and Utah, and will be accomplished in Missouri in this year's campaign, for the people are to vote upon the acceptance of more power for themselves through the adoption of a constitutional amendment for the optional referendum and direct initiative. And in all the other states there is being waged an effective campaign for the optional referendum and direct initiative, as will be shown in a later section.

The third great fact to be drawn from the history of the people's veto in the several American states is that the optional referendum in Oregon, South Dakota, Utah and Missouri *applies only to the less important statute law,* for the compulsory referendum has already been applied to the more important legislation, such as changes in the system of government and laws for the issuance of bonds, subscriptions for capital stock in private corporations, franchises to private corporations to issue paper money and the control of railway rates. It follows that the only question as to the policy of adopting the optional referendum in the states is, shall the people's veto, which already is absolutely necessary in the more important affairs, such as state bonds, *be extended to the less important legislation?* In other words, the people's veto being necessary to the more important affairs, shall it be extended to the less important? One naturally asks, Is this optional referendum practicable? If so it should surely be applied in order to terminate special privilege legislation and the corruption of voters and legislators.

OPTIONAL REFERENDUM IS PRACTICABLE.

The answer is, the optional referendum is practicable, and unquestionably so, for in South Dakota and Oregon where the system has been in operation *not a bill has been ordered to a direct vote, and at the same time the system did its work.* The mere existence of an option or power in the voters to veto bad bills is effective just as the mere presence of a policeman keeps out the toughs. In the words of a speech in the Toronto Parliament by a Canadian who had visited South Dakota:

> The Governor of South Dakota said: "Since this referendum law has been a part of our constitution we have had no chartermongers or railway speculators, no wild-cat schemes submitted to our legislature. Formerly our time was occupied by speculative schemes of one kind or another, but since the Referendum has been a part of the constitution these people do not press their schemes on the legislature, and hence there is no necessity for having recourse to the Referendum."

Such is the testimony as to South Dakota.

In Oregon there has been one session of the legislature since the establishment of the optional referendum. The legislature enacted a law that was opposed by the railroads, and it enacted another law granting an appropriation for an exposition in Portland, which was opposed by the labor unions of Portland for sound reasons from their standpoint, but opposed without success. They started to circulate a petition to bring the question of the appropriation to direct vote of the people but stopped before the required five per cent. of signatures were secured, it clearly appearing that the people favored the appropriation.

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* The American Commonwealth, Vol. I, p. 476.

† Referendum in America, by Oberholtzer, pp. 38-44, first edition (1891).

The railroad started to circulate a petition against the bill which it opposed, but ceased circulating the petition before securing the signatures for a direct vote, it being a foregone conclusion that the people would approve the bill. Said the Portland *Oregonian*, the leading Republican paper in the state:

> The mere presence of the optional referendum has done the work. Its insurance features are left unimpaired. It stands accordingly a safeguard in the people's hands and is stronger for its trial.

Another result of the system is pointed out by Hon. W. S. U'Ren, of Oregon City:

> The first effect of the referendum in Oregon is the comparative absence of charges of corruption and partisanship in the legislature.

CONDENSED SUMMARY AS TO PEOPLE'S VETO.

We have demonstrated,

1. That a people's veto in state affairs is applicable to all laws except urgency legislation, and promotes the general welfare;

2. That for a century and a quarter the people's veto has been more and more applied in the United States, first to the most important of all state legislation—the changes in the system of government, then to the most important state laws, and finally to the less important of the state laws, each step demonstrating the system's value to social progress;

3. That there is a relation between industrial progress and the adoption of a system which places more power in the people; and

4. That for years the monopoly question has become interstate and therefore the referendum system must become interstate.

CHAPTER XV.

DEVELOPMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT:

Part II. People Gradually Assert Sovereignty by Establishing Referendum System.

B. DEVELOPMENT OF DIRECT INITIATIVE IN THE UNITED STATES AND SWITZERLAND.

1 MASSACHUSETTS, NEW HAMPSHIRE AND KENTUCKY.

In the proposal for the Massachusetts constitution submitted to the people in 1780 after they had vetoed the first one, there was provision not only for a people's veto as to changes in the system but also a direct initiative as to calling a constitutional convention in fifteen years.

And in New Hampshire in the constitution adopted in 1784, after the people had vetoed a proposal, there was provision for a direct initiative as to calling a constitutional convention in seven years.

When the seven years rolled around the people voted upon the question and decided to hold a convention and afterward they elected delegates. The convention submitted to the people a constitution in which was retained the provision for *a direct vote of the people every seven years as to calling a constitutional convention.* This has been retained to the present day and no political machine has stood between the people and the calling of a constitutional convention, as has been the case where there was no direct initiative.

In Massachusetts, ere the fifteen years came to an end, the people sadly needed a change in the system of government but could not secure the calling of a constitutional convention even though they fought for it. Shay's Rebellion of 1786-87 was unsuccessful in securing a constitutional convention, whereas a direct initiative would have resulted in the people's sovereignty and have prevented bloodshed and the other evils of civil war.

When the time came that the people of Massachusetts voted upon the question of calling a constitutional convention in 1795 it was defeated. The constitution contained no further provision for a direct initiative and the people of Massachusetts have not yet regained the liberties of 1795.

Kentucky, when admitted as a state, enacted a constitution without submitting it to the people, but the instrument provided that in five years the people should possess a direct initiative as to calling a constitutional convention, and if they decided in the affirmative the question should be voted upon again the next year. They called a convention at the first opportunity, but the instrument framed and submitted to the people *dropped out the direct initiative in the people and they have not regained it since.*

Next in order of time we find the direct initiative in Switzerland, and later in the United States.

2—SWITZERLAND: DIRECT INITIATIVE AS TO CHANGES IN THE SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT.

In Switzerland there began in 1830 the direct initiative for ousting the ruling few in the cantons (the equivalent of our states), but the form adopted was a demand for a constitutional convention coupled with threats of physical force. This resort to physical force was the only way out, and therefore was justified, just as was the American Declaration of Independence. But in the Swiss cantons the dominant few had no military force to order against the people, and as they did not care to risk their own lives they called a convention. Between October 22, 1830, and the middle of the following December the constitutions of nine of the cantons were revised, the new instruments being on progressive lines and each enacted into law by direct ballot of the voters. This resulted from a spirit of liberty inspired by the French Revolution of July, 1830. These nine states secured their constitutions without civil war, but during the next year there were serious conflicts in three cantons—Basle, Schwyz and Neuchatel.

In federal affairs there were serious attempts to oust the ruling few, but the efforts were effectually checkmated until 1848, some eighteen years

after the cantonal changes, and then it was preceded by civil war during part of 1844. Four years after the war the Liberals secured a constitutional convention which was at work when the French Revolution for popular government broke out and set all Europe ablaze. The constitutional convention resulted in a complete triumph for the Swiss people—a federal constitution in which they secured a liberal system of government, including a people's veto and a direct initiative as to changes in the system of government, and this power in the people as to constitutional law was guaranteed as to changes in the cantonal constitution.

This great advance in popular government in Switzerland was carried to completion without meeting with objection from the Allied Powers, which in 1815 had recognized Switzerland's sovereignty and had agreed that it should not be violated by any European power. In 1848 none of the European powers objected to the change in the Swiss system of government because the revolution extended throughout the continent, making the ruling few too busy in holding themselves in power to interfere with the establishment of democracy in Switzerland.

Swiss democracy, by its mere example, is not only aiding in the liberation of all Europe but is helping to liberate the people of the United States—a people whose courageous action in 1776 and subsequent years inspired the French and Swiss to adopt republican forms of government. We see, therefore, that national good-deeds set forces in motion which re-act even after a century has passed, helping to liberate those whose example in previous times had been an inspiration to the present-day liberators.

3—SWITZERLAND: DIRECT INITIATIVE AS TO STATUTE LAW.

In the adoption of more popular forms of government in the cantons in 1830 there was no provision for a people's veto as to statute law except in two cantons—St. Gall and Rural Basle, and no provision for a direct initiative as to statute law.

In these two cantons the people's veto was in the form that had existed centuries before, namely, to defeat a measure the votes against it must equal a majority of all the voters in the district instead of a majority of the votes cast. Nine years later, 1839, the system was partially applied in the canton of *V*alais. Two years later, 1841, the system was adopted in Lucerne.

In 1844 the canton of *V*alais changed the optional veto to the compulsory referendum of all laws, and the next year adopted the direct initiative as to statutory law.

This was the earliest application of the direct initiative through referendum vote.

In 1846 the constitution of Berne conferred upon the Great Council (the legislature) the right to submit a law to the voters. This is the referendum at the option of the Great Council. A similar privilege was subsequently inserted in most of the cantonal constitutions. This system was started also by the legislatures in the American states, chiefly as to the adoption by the people of laws empowering counties and other local communities to vote upon the establishment of prohibition districts and free school districts. But our supreme courts declared the system unconstitutional except in Vermont, though in later years the local option laws were upheld in most states, but never so as to referendum voting on an act of the legislature except in Vermont.

Shortly after 1850 the canton of *V*alais struck from her constitution the compulsory referendum as to all statute law. Two years later, however, it was restored as to the more important laws, namely, "every change in the financial system and every proposed increase in taxation."

The same year (1852) the people of Aargau adopted the direct initiative as to statute law, and the system was quite complete in its details.

From this time on (1852) the people in many of the cantons adopted the referendum and a few of them the direct initiative. In 1869 six of the cantons within a few months of each other adopted the compulsory referendum as to all laws, and all of them except Berne adopted the direct initiative. This left only three and a half cantons out of twenty-two in which the people were without a veto and direct initiative as to cantonal statute law. At the present time there is only one small canton, Freiburg, with 119,000 population, in which the people are without a veto power as to statutes, and in most of them they possess a direct initiative as to statute law. They all possess a veto power and direct initiative as to constitutional law.

The above demonstrates the gradual and permanent changes that have taken place in Switzerland. THE RULE OF THE FEW GRADUALLY GAVE WAY TO A SOVEREIGN POWER IN THE PEOPLE.

This is demonstrated also in the changes in the federal government of Switzerland. In 1872 a proposal for a new federal constitution was framed by the Swiss Radical leaders and rejected by the people. Then the leaders struck out some of the provisions for an increase of power in the federal government and it was adopted (1874). There was also stricken out a provision for the direct initiative as to statutory law, which was in the proposal of 1872. This striking out of the direct initiative resulted in the continuance of paper money by private banks and it protected other special privileges.

In 1879 the people used the direct initiative to propose a constitutional amendment for terminating the issuance of paper money by private corporations. The people attempted to apply the direct initiative to the constitution because there was no direct initiative as to statutory law. But the private corporations which issued paper money and possessed other privileges prevailed upon the Swiss Congress to claim that the provision in the federal constitution for direct initiative as to a revision of the constitution did not include a right to demand a revision *of part of it.* In other words, they claimed that the greater did not include the less, whereas the convention which framed the constitution had distinctly stated otherwise.

This illustrates the twists and turns which the ruling few interpose. Through the use of their money they are able to obstruct the people's progress. The Swiss labor unions, however, insisted strenuously for a constitutional amendment for a direct initiative for a partial revision and won the day. The amendment was installed in 1891. *The final stand of the monopolists was that the direct initiative system should be such that the people should instruct their representatives in congress to prepare an amendment,* but this was defeated, it being pointed out that nothing short

of a power to propose a definite amendment would constitute sovereignty in the people and effectually terminate the legal privileges.

THUS THE SWISS PEOPLE REGAINED THEIR POLITICAL FREEDOM AFTER MORE THAN A THOUSAND YEARS OF BONDAGE, DURING WHICH TIME THE MINIATURE FREE STATES OF THE TEUTONIC PEOPLE HAVE DEVELOPED INTO THE GREAT STATES OF THE PRESENT DAY AND INTO A WORLD-STATE.

4. *THE DIRECT INITIATIVE IN THE UNITED STATES, 1846 TO THE PRESENT DAY.*

Returning to the history of the direct initiative in America we find that after the abolition of the property qualification for voting, which took place in the eastern states from 1810 to 1825 and never existed in the territories, there occurred what is frequently termed "the uprising of a free people." This was under the leadership of Jackson and others. *The ruling few were changed—the opponents of popular government were exchanged for the advocates of popular rights* BUT WHO WERE UNABLE TO SECURE THE CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES THAT WOULD MAKE THE PEOPLE THE SOVEREIGN POWER. For example, in 1824 and again in 1825 and '26 the Democratic leaders, Jackson, Van-Buren, Benton and others worked hard for a constitutional amendment for direct nomination and election of president and vice-president, but without avail. Said Benton in his "Thirty Years' View:"

[The Senate and House] are not the places for popular reform. These reforms are for the benefit of the people and should begin with the people.

In subsequent years, about 1842 to 1860, legislatures controlled by the advocates of popular government attempted to refer close questions to the people direct by providing that laws should go into operation if approved by the people. *But the ruling few prevented this*, they had seen to it that the men who became supreme court judges were those who would veto a movement for more power in the people. All the supreme courts except that of Vermont, vetoed the action of the legislature in referring public questions to the voters. They declared that the people, through the state constitutions, had abdicated their sovereignty by placing it in the legislature, supreme court, and executive department of the government. This idea was drastically scored by the supreme court of Vermont, and later the supreme courts in most of the states held that the people of a county, city or town might decide for themselves whether to adopt a law which the legislature should authorize, but they refused to sanction the submission of a state question.

Thus was "local option" held valid except in Delaware and a few other states, but in all the states except Vermont, as we have said, the supreme courts prohibited the legislatures from submitting state law to direct vote.

STRATEGIC FEATURES IN STATE PROHIBITION MOVEMENT.

And even in Vermont, the only state where the supreme court in 1854 allowed the legislature to refer a state question to the people, the subsequent legislatures have been so controlled that no further state questions were referred to the people *till the liquor power chose to have it done.* In 1902 the legislature was induced to resubmit to the people of the state the issue of Local Option versus State Prohibition. The people rejected State Prohibition, which had been among the statutes of the state for 48 years. They repealed the system and adopted Local Option *because the administration of the law had been by a political party in which the policy as to the execution of law against intoxicating liquor* WAS LARGELY CONTROLLED BY THE LIQUOR INTERESTS. *Nothing short of complete termination of the sovereignty of the liquor interests and the other monopolists will give a fair trial to State Prohibition, and then the executive department must be in those who are determined that the people's will shall prevail.* Such are the teachings of history. The strategic features in the State Prohibition movement, then, are,

1. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SOVEREIGNTY IN THE PEOPLE—the establishment of the referendum and initiative in combination with the legislatures and congress. Every Prohibition district of modern times has been made such through this system, namely, the direct ballot.

2. THE ELECTION OF EXECUTIVE OFFICERS WHO WILL EXECUTE THE PEOPLE'S WILL. This will be accomplished when the system of government is changed by establishing guarded representative government, for it brings direct nominations and a host of other improvements, as will be demonstrated in a subsequent section. The establishment of this improved system of representative government is near at hand, as will also be shown in subsequent paragraphs.

DIRECT INITIATIVE AS TO CALLING CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTIONS IN AMERICAN STATES.

We have stated that when there occurred "the uprising of a free people" under the leadership of Jackson and others, the people simply changed rulers, for the people were unable to secure constitutional provisions for the establishment of the people's sovereignty. But in several of the state conventions they secured *a direct initiative for calling a constitutional convention at stated periods—every eighteen or twenty years.*

This was accomplished in Iowa and New York in 1846; Michigan in 1850; Ohio and Maryland in 1851; Virginia in 1870.

DIRECT INITIATIVE AT ANY TIME IN SOUTH DAKOTA, UTAH, OREGON AND MISSOURI.

After the supreme courts of the several states declared during the years 1847 to 1854 that a direct vote by the people was prohibited by the state constitutions and the federal constitutions there ensued nearly a half century before the people again began in a general way to push for a direct vote as to state laws. In the meantime the local option laws had been held to be constitutional in most of the states, and last year the clause in the federal constitution guaranteeing to the states "a republican form of government" came squarely before the Oregon supreme court and the referendum system was upheld. In *Portland versus Kadderly*, it was held that a people's veto and direct initiative are parts of a republican form of government.

This decision removes another of the legal obstructions which the monopolists have raised. But should they be more successful in other supreme courts it will not materially interfere, for a rule-

of-procedure system has been developed whereby the direct ballot can be installed without changing the written constitution, and it can be adopted in a single campaign. Details are published in a later section.

Previous to this holding by the Oregon supreme court, the system had been adopted by two other states. The movements leading up to this are in brief as follows.

About the year 1888 the use of the optional referendum in Switzerland attracted the attention of Belgium, England, and the United States, as also did the direct initiative. Several books were written describing the Swiss system and the development in America. The third parties in the United States declared for the system, as also did the American Federation of Labor and the Knights of Labor.

But the actual change in the system came slowly, for the political machines and the interests back of them did not wish to lose their power. In 1896 the Fusion party in SOUTH *DAKOTA* submitted a constitutional amendment for the optional referendum and direct initiative, the people adopted it, and a Republican legislature placed it in operation.

In UTAH in 1898 a Fusion legislature submitted the system to a vote of the people and they adopted it, but two Republican legislatures have refused to enact a statute for putting the amendment into operation. This demonstrates the need for the system.

In OREGON in 1898 a Republican legislature submitted a constitutional amendment for the system, and two years later another Republican legislature repeated the process, and two years later the people voted upon the question, accepting it by a practically unanimous vote, 11 to 1. The system was installed by the next legislature.

Next we come to the year 1902, which marks a NEW ERA. *Organized Farmers and Organized Wage-earners began questioning the legislative candidates of all the parties as to whether, if elected, they would vote to submit to the people a constitutional amendment for more power in themselves through a people's veto and direct initiative.* The details are set forth in a subsequent chapter. At this time we will merely state that in MISSOURI it resulted in the submission of a constitutional amendment, which the people will vote upon at the coming election and of course they will take to themselves the long-desired sovereignty.

In NEVADA a Democratic legislature in 1903 submitted a constitutional amendment for the optional referendum and direct initiative, but the incoming legislature must also agree to the proposal before the people can vote on the question.

In MASSACHUSETTS the legislature of 1903 voted to submit a modified form of the direct initiative as to the state constitution, but the legislature in session this year voted it down. The monopolists demonstrated their sovereign powers.

In ALL THE OTHER STATES there is a widespread demand for more power in the people. The movement is described in a subsequent chapter, as also is the NATIONAL MOVEMENT.

5. *SUMMARY AS TO DIRECT INITIATIVE IN UNITED STATES AND SWITZERLAND.*

Reviewing the history of the direct initiative, one is struck by *its steady and gradual development*, there being scarcely any reversions. The splendid results of the direct initiative are described in the next division.

6 *SUMMARY AS TO RISE AND PROGRESS OF PEOPLE'S VETO AND DIRECT INITIATIVE IN UNITED STATES AND SWITZERLAND.*

Reviewing the history of both the people's veto and direct initiative, one can see *a broad tendency to popular government which is fully attained in Switzerland and is far along in the United States. It is an element in Social Evolution and therefore is irresistible.*

This referendum system re-establishes the people's sovereignty—a sovereignty that was lost when the Teutonic states became too large for legislation by popular assemblage.

This fact is frequently pointed out. In 1891, for example, it was referred to in "The Referendum in Switzerland" by Deploige. After describing the development of the people's veto and direct initiative he says:

> The men who imagined that they [by electing a legislative bod by manhood suffrage] had put an end to despotism were mistaken. The omnipotence of the aristocratic families *had been substituted for the omnipotence of the elected council* [controlled by a political party]. Democracy had not really been established. The work was yet to do.*

To the same effect is the following by Prof. Jesse Macy, of Iowa College, who visited Switzerland in 1896:

> It was not until the period of the European Revolution in 1846 and 1848 that a really democratic constitution was adopted in Switzerland. Of course I knew these historic facts before I went to Switzerland, but I had failed to be duly impressed with the newness of Swiss democracy. I believe that we cannot be too prompt in reaching the understanding that *what we now recognize as democracy* IS SOMETHING ABSOLUTELY NEW ON THE FACE OF THE EARTH.

The importance of the newly-acquired people's sovereignty was recently testified to by Mr. Wilson, a Swiss official:

> The Swiss yeomanry would fight and die in defense of the initiative and referendum as willingly as they would to resist a foreign invader who sought to rule over them.

Let us turn and ascertain the results of this "something absolutely new on the face of the earth," and for which those who have experienced it would die rather than relinquish. First, however, we shall explain how it happened that the Swiss people, who were far behind us in popular government till 1830, overtook us and first attained their freedom.

7. *WHY SWISS ATTAINED SOVEREIGNTY AHEAD OF AMERICANS.*

Professor John R. Commons in an article in *The Arena*, December 1899, describes the evil conditions which forced the Swiss to establish a people's veto through the referendum, and continues:

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* Deploige, p. 116.

It must not be thought that in America the people have not been as wide awake as in Switzerland. They have had similar experience. They have seen their representative bodies violate pledges and sell the people's birthright to corporations. They have struggled vigorously to stop the abuse, but they have developed, *not the people's veto*, but the *executive veto* and the *judiciary veto*. * * * Thus in nation, state and city, the legislative branch of our government has been fettered and suppressed. The executive and the judicial branches have been exalted over it. But instead of curing the legislature, *the remedy has only infected the other branches with the legislature's vices.* * * * *The referendum is the only complete and specific cure for bribery. It alone goes to the source of corruption. It deprives lawmakers and executives of their monopoly of legislation.* The secret ballot, official primaries, civil service reform, proportional representation—these are all needful, but they leave to a few the monopoly of government and the power to sell at a monopoly price. *If they should all be adopted, the immense interests dependent on legislation will pay not less but more money, and will control them.* Even public ownership of public enterprises, although it ultimately destroys the largest corruption fund, must first be brought about by legislation; and this will be the signal for exorbitant prices and a carnival of bribery more profligate than any hitherto seen."

Turning from the development of the people's sovereignty in modern times, let us note *the results* which are in two principal directions. (1) as to the system of government and (2) as to legislation. These we shall consider in South Dakota, Oregon, in certain American cities, and in Switzerland.

CHAPTER XVI.

PEOPLE'S SOVEREIGNTY THROUGH GUARDED REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT RESULTS IN HIGHER STAGES OF CIVILIZATION:

Part I. In South Dakota.

The people's sovereignty was finally established in South Dakota March, 1899, since which time two legislatures have been in session. So effective has been the mere existence of the people's power that *not a bill has been ordered to a referendum* vote. On these points the following testimony is presented.

Some months after the termination of the first session of the legislature under the referendum system, I wrote to a leading public man of South Dakota, who was opposed to the party in power in the legislature, and he replied:

> The last legislature was Republican by 102 majority, there being only 15 votes in opposition on a joint ballot.
>
> There was no distinctively vicious legislation except in the interest of party politics. The existence of the Referendum doubtless prevented the passage of a number of vicious bills including one fathered by the state bankers and known as the negotiable instrument bill.
>
> I am fully convinced that no very vicious legislation will be enacted as long as the Referendum is a part of our constitution, and I am also convinced that no very popular bill will fail to become a law so long as we have the power of the initiative.

To the same effect is a statement by the Governor of South Dakota, see page 37 above.

In municipal affairs there was an equally satisfactory condition. August 1901, I sent out letters of inquiry to the twenty-four cities of South Dakota of more than a thousand population and found that during the preceding eighteen months under the optional referendum only four bills for ordinances had been ordered to a referendum ballot, of these, two were in Aberdeen.

As to the direct initiative, I found that it had been used four times—twice in Aberdeen, once in Brookings, and once at Elk Point. The questions submitted were as follows: At Aberdeen, day labor in place of the contract system in municipal improvements, also the question of public baths. At Brookings, for the prohibition of billiard and pool rooms. All three of these measures were defeated, but there was an educational effect, and each question can be brought up as frequently as is thought best. At Elk Point the location of the city hall was selected by the people and adopted by the common council.

The results of the votes under the optional referendum were as follows. At Aberdeen a city lighting plant, including gas. At Elk Point the city council asked the citizens to vote on its recommendation as to the Marshal's salary. Nearly a full vote was polled. The subject matter of the two other referendum votings is not known to the writer.

It also appeared from the replies to questions that during these eighteen months the only franchises granted for city monopolies were for telephone service, which is part of a state or national system. Wherever the question of private monopoly versus public ownership of city monopolies came before the people, the verdict was in favor of city ownership. Says Mr. W. E. Kidd, one of our correspondents in Aberdeen, now deceased:

> A very decided vote was given in favor of a city lighting plant, including gas. * * * The Referendum has made our city council very conservative in donating franchises to private parties, *and will probably result in reserving all public utilities to the public.*

Since 1901 no systematic investigation as to referendum vote has been made in the South Dakota cities, but a telegraphic dispatch in the *Chicago Tribune* stated that at Pierre there had been granted a license for a saloon on the main street, but that citizens started a petition for a direct vote and the license was cancelled.

Turning again to the legislature, its second session under the new system resulted in the passage of bills of so high a character that *not one of them was ordered to a direct vote.*

In South Dakota no use has yet been made of the direct initiative in state affairs.

CHAPTER XVII.

PEOPLE'S SOVEREIGNTY THROUGH GUARDED REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT RESULTS IN HIGHER STAGES OF CIVILIZATION:

Part II. In Oregon.

A. THE PEOPLE'S VETO THROUGH THE OPTIONAL REFERENDUM.

The people of Oregon attained their sovereignty when the legislature enacted the statute which placed in operation the constitutional amendment for the people's veto and direct initiative. This was February 1903. A few weeks later the legislature adjourned and certain occurrences took place, described in the following letter by Hon. W. S. U'Ren, of Oregon City to Mr. Eltweed Pomeroy, President of the National Direct Legislation League.

OREGON CITY, OREGON, June 2, 1903.

DEAR FRIEND:

The first effect of the Referendum in Oregon is *the comparative absence of charges of corruption and partisanship in the legislature.* The newspapers have generally spoken well of the last assembly or said nothing, while for the previous ten years at least, the rule has been that some bitter things were printed about the want of honor and intelligence among the legislators. Altogether the last session of the last assembly was the best for many years and we credit a good deal of this to the referendum amendment.

Four Referendum petitions were circulated; One against the appropriation of five hundred thousand dollars in aid of the Lewis & Clark Fair, and this received 3,900 signatures. One against the appropriation of one hundred and sixty-five thousand dollars for a State Portage Railway at The Dalles on the Columbia River, and this had 4,000 signatures; the Portland Chamber of Commerce charged the railway companies with paying men to circulate this petition. A petition against the Corporation License Tax bill was circulated by some mining corporations but had only 3,222 signatures. A petition against the repealing of an exemption from taxation of $300.00 worth of household furniture was in circulation about three weeks and received 1,800 signatures; if they had begun earlier it would probably have obtained more than the required number of signatures, which was 4,386.

We may logically deduce from this experience that the referendum is not easily invoked, even though only five per cent. of the voters are required; that a law must be very unpopular if the people will not permit it to be tried, when there is no reasonable ground to believe it was corruptly passed; that if the people have any good reason to suspect that the Referendum is sought from selfish motives or for personal profit they will not sign the petition in such a case. So far the results have been very satisfactory. I enclose herewith a leading editorial from the daily *Oregonian* of May 27.

Yours truly,

(Signed) W. S. U'REN.

The editorial referred to, in the leading daily of Oregon recites the facts above stated and concludes:

The result may be accepted everywhere as it is in Oregon, as a fresh testimonial to the wisdom and safety of popular government.

The referendum stands accordingly as a safeguard in the people's hands against pernicious acts of an unworthy legislature and a conniving governor. Any hope of using it as an instrument of improper purposes must be infinitesimal, after the late severe test, in which powerful interests conspicuously failed in their attempt to invoke the plebiscite by widely circulated and strenuously urged petitions.

The amendment is the stronger for its trial; and while it is likely to remain a dead letter *except in operation as a potential check on legislative misconduct,* it may yet have a day of abundant triumph in actual employment to defeat a pernicious law.

B. THE DIRECT INITIATIVE IN OPERATION IN OREGON.

INSTALLATION OF DIRECT NOMINATIONS SYSTEM.

Though the people of Oregon have not ordered a direct vote under the optional referendum they have under the direct initiative. The candidates for two legislatures had promised to install a direct nominations system, but after election day was past the party managers refused. The result was that a few public spirited citizens organized the Direct Primary Nominations League of Oregon, printed five hundred or a thousand copies of the bill which had been turned down, affixed to each an initiative petition, as prescribed by law, and these were circulated for signatures, assistance being rendered by the non-partisan organizations of the state.

Some 8,000 signatures were secured, about 1,000 more than required by law. On election day the people took to themselves the added power, by a vote of about 3 to 1. "The campaign against the measure was in the nature of a still hunt," writes Secretary U'Ren of the Direct Nominations League, and he adds: "Its enemies became discouraged before the close of the campaign."

Thus the direct initiative led to a direct nominations system, overcoming the adverse action of two legislatures.

INSTALLATION OF LOCAL OPTION SYSTEM AS TO LIQUOR QUESTION.

In the same campaign there was installed through the direct initiative a local option system as to the liquor question. The voters in each municipality should have been clothed with this power when the constitutional amendment for the initiative and referendum was framed, but they were not, owing to the influence of the liquor men and other antagonistic interests. This left the liquor interests in control throughout the state, for they kept the legislature from granting to the people the right to vote by communities on the question of prohibition versus license. The license system was crammed down the throats of every municipality. But after the direct initiative in state affairs was installed, the temperance leaders of the state organized the Oregon Prohibition Alliance, a non-partisan organization, and circulated petitions for an up-to-date system of local option

as to the liquor question. More than enough signatures were quickly secured, and a campaign was waged till election day. The liquor interests did their best to get the people to refuse to clothe themselves with a right to a direct ballot on the whiskey question, but without avail. The system was installed by about 2,000 majority.

Thus the temperance people were able to secure what the political parties had denied them. The system is one of the best, modeled after the famous Texas law which has created such havoc in the Lone Star liquordum. A vote on the question of prohibition may be had at any time in any county, or political sub-division thereof, upon a petition of 10 per cent. of the registered voters in the district in which the system is to apply.

The campaign was a bitter one and the liquor men spent much money, "probably as much as $75,000," says a conservative correspondent. This was due to a mistake by the temperance people. Had they presented the broad question of local option *on all questions* there would have been no possibility of defeating it and therefore but little money would have been spent.

Says the *Interior*, a Presbyterian publication:

> Other states, like Ohio, have been laboring for years and yet have not accomplished as much as Oregon has gained by one bold stroke. *What is the secret of our success?* It is the initiative and referendum law which was declared constitutional by our supreme court just before we launched the initiative petition. *Had it been necessary to work through the State Legislature, long weary years would have passed before we could have secured such a law, but under the initiative and referendum the people constitute the Legislature and their verdict is final.* Although the liquor element invested many thousands of dollars in the campaign, they were not able to subsidize the voters. The League had a dozen speakers stumping the state and issued 220,000 copies of literature, and every pulpit was made a bulwark of local option artillery. In this way the evil influences of the enemy were counteracted.
>
> *Is not the lesson hereby taught that the most expeditious method of securing an effective local option law is* FIRST TO SEEK AN INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM LAW?

WOMAN SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT.

The advocates of the enfranchisement of women in Oregon planned to circulate petitions for a direct vote upon a constitutional amendment this year. They did not get started soon enough, so the question is laid over until the next campaign. If the people do not adopt the amendment at the first trial there will at least have been accomplished a vast amount of educational work, and each two years this can be kept up until women attain their portion of the sovereign power.

The above results in Oregon are for the sixteen months since the installation of the people's sovereignty. An attempt to repeal the system would bring on a revolution.

C. OPPOSITION BY THE MONOPOLISTS.

The monopolists realize the far-reaching character of the system and are opposing it as well as they can. For example, the Associated Press is the vehicle whereby the out-of-the-state papers secure their Oregon news as to the referendum and initiative. *But this agency suppresses the news that is favorable to the system and spreads broadcast whatever is thought to be detrimental;* for example, a district court declared the referendum system to be unconstitutional and this news was given the widest possible publicity. But a few months later when the case reached the supreme court and it decided that it was constitutional the news was published only in the state. *The Associated Press suppressed the news.* Again, after the overwhelming success of the direct initiative in the election of June 6th, this year, the Associated Press kept back the news. The writer first got at the facts by going to the Congressional Library and inspecting an Oregon paper.

This power of the press to conceal and pervert the news is a more extensive power than was exercised by Napoleon. He could not mold the opinions of men, as the press does.

CHAPTER XVIII.

PEOPLE'S SOVEREIGNTY THROUGH GUARDED REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT RESULTS IN HIGHER STAGES OF CIVILIZATION:

Part III. In Certain American Cities.

In IOWA CITIES the people for a long time have possessed a veto power as to many of the franchises for city monopolies, and since 1897 have possessed a direct initiative as to these questions. So effective has this power been that there are no reports of extended corruption in Iowa cities, as is the case across the line in Missouri and in Illinois.

In SOUTH DAKOTA CITIES the existence of the people's veto and direct initiative has shut off all special legislation, see page 42, above.

In DETROIT, MICHIGAN, the people's veto through the advisory referendum and pledging of candidates has taken the monopoly question from the city council, resulting in a great improvement in the character of representatives in the city council, and this in turn is reflected in an efficient administration of city monopolies, such as the electric light plant and water plant. The effectiveness of the public service in Detroit is demonstrated in THE ARENA, May, 1904, also in the *National Municipal League Proceedings*, published by Reform Club Committee on City Affairs, New York City.

At WINNETKA, ILLINOIS, the advisory referendum and pledging of candidates defeated the forty-year franchise for a private gas company, as is stated at page 76 below. Shortly after the defeat of the gas franchise a group of public spirited citizens formed a private corporation for installing a public electric lighting plant. In other words, the laws of the state of Illinois did not permit the city of Winnetka to own a lighting plant, and therefore its citizens formed a private corporation with an agreement among themselves and with the city that the plant should be trans-

ferred to the city *free of charge* when its cost should be paid.

In SAN FRANCISCO a few years ago a business men's association drafted a new charter, and it was adopted by a direct ballot of the voters. In this way majority rule prevailed in combination with a body of representative business men. The decision arrived at as to city monopolies was as follows:

It is hereby declared to be the purpose and intention of the people of the city and county that *its public utilities shall be gradually acquired and ultimately owned by the city and county.* To this end, it is hereby ordained: [then follow provisions that upon a 15 per cent. petition favoring the acquisition of any public utility, the Board of Supervisors shall immediately take steps to procure plans and estimates of cost and enter into negotiations for the permanent acquisition of such utility by construction, condemnation, or purchase, so that it may, within six months after said petition, formulate a proposition to be submitted to the voters. Or, the Supervisors may themselves pass an ordinance embodying the idea of the petition.]

In connection with the above it should be borne in mind that public ownership of city monopolies under guarded representative government is very different from municipal ownership where the government is in the hands of the few. It follows that in San Francisco, where the optional referendum as to franchises and the direct initiative as to all questions is in operation, the government is such that the public interests are cared for. Says Mr. Eltweed Pomeroy, who has visited San Francisco repeatedly:

San Francisco is said to have the best and cleanest government that she has ever had, and one which will compare favorably with any other large city government, and is greatly superior to the government of such cities as St. Louis, Philadelphia, Pittsburg; and one of the supervisors told the writer that there was no use in boodlers going into the common council since the new charter, with Direct Legislation in it had been adopted, *because the Council cannot deliver the goods* and the corporations do not spend money to get their tools into the Council. Hence the grade of the Council is much raised.

An illustration of the character of the San Francisco common council is the fact that the gamblers could not get a license for bookmaking. Their only hope was in an appeal to the people themselves through the direct initiative. The gamblers filed a direct initiative petition and there ensued an energetic campaign on the question of gambling, and the gamblers were snowed under. The educational and moral effect could not have been duplicated by the expenditure of a million of money.

Turning to public improvements in San Francisco we find that the sovereignty of the people has produced a great change. September 29th of last year the people voted on twelve propositions for public improvements and adopted all but two of them, and by a two-thirds vote. The people voted to erect a new city and county hospital to cost a million dollars; a new and complete sewer system was authorized to cost $7,250,000; new school houses to cost $3,595,000, the building of which is to extend through six years; repaving of streets to cost $1,621,000; a new county jail and an addition to the Hall of Justice to cost $697,000; a public library and site to cost $1,647,000; and five parks and play grounds were provided for. The improvements were needed, for the old system of government had enabled the tax payers to keep the public library in an upper story of the city hall and to retain the county jail which existed in 1856. This is a sample of the old-time system.

And during October of last year the people of San Francisco voted for the second time on the question of public ownership of the Geary street railroad, to cost $710,000. There were 14,381 votes for and 10,755 against. But the San Francisco charter requires a two-thirds vote before bonds can be issued, and this required two-thirds was lacking.

There are several other cities with final power in the people. SEATTLE has a charter providing for the referendum, but the supreme court of the state has held that the system does not apply to granting of street railway franchises, one of the principal objects for which it was enacted.

TACOMA, we believe, has a referendum and initiative charter. PORTLAND has, also LOS ANGELES and PASADENA. In Los Angeles the voters possess, also, a right to recall public officials. This is of great value as to the mayor and other executive officials. In the three cities last named the emancipation of the people is quite recent.

DENVER, COLORADO, has a charter in which the voters are clothed with a veto power and direct initiative. It was adopted only recently. The provisions were framed by a charter convention and are against the people's interests, requiring a 25 per cent. petition by the voters before any question can go before the people, and it is tied up in other ways.

In ILLINOIS the advisory initiative requires a 25 per cent. petition, but this has been secured at two different times in CHICAGO, each time the people voting for public ownership of the street railways. In other cities in the state there have been referendum votings under the advisory initiative system, but the writer has not learned the results.

In INDIANA, WISCONSIN AND MONTANA, there is statute law providing a people's veto as to franchises for municipal monopolies. The writer while passing through Indiana accidentally heard a remark by one who had been a franchise promoter. He stated that after the passage of the law he went out of business. In Indiana there are no franchise scandals, and the same is true as to Wisconsin and Montana.

CHAPTER XIX.

PEOPLE'S SOVEREIGNTY THROUGH GUARDED REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT RESULTS IN HIGHER STAGES OF CIVILIZATION:

Part IV. Switzerland.

A. THE SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT.

1. INSTITUTIONS EXIST FOR ASCERTAINING AND APPLYING SOCIAL TRUTH.

The pre-eminent feature of the people's sovereignty is that it aims to discover the laws of human progress and to make public its discoveries, also to apply the principles to the ever changing conditions.

This is the exact opposite of what has taken place under the rule of the few. They have kept themselves in power through deception, as we have seen—a two-faced system of government and false teachings.

But all this is changed when the people's sovereignty prevails. Deceptive institutions give place to truth-giving institutions. In Switzerland these are of two great classes, Educational and Legislative. The fundamental characteristics in the educational institutions are academic freedom and compulsory education:

a. *ACADEMIC FREEDOM AND COMPULSORY EDUCATION WHERE PEOPLE RULE.*

In Switzerland the professors are absolutely free to ascertain the facts and principles as to social evolution and publish the same. In short, there is academic freedom as to social truth. Not so where the few are ruling, for the very existence of their power is based on deception.

Furthermore, in little Switzerland, with a population of only three million souls, there is more research for *social truths* than in any other country in the world. Switzerland has "six fully equipped universities, situated at Basle, Zürich, Berne, Geneva, Lausanne and Freiburg. To these add the Federal Polytechnicum at Zürich, which has a greater attendance then any one of the universities."

The above is quoted from "Government in Switzerland," by Professor Vincent of Johns Hopkins University, page 170, and he adds:

"It is not necessary to call attention to the reputation of the universities of Switzerland, for in most cases that is international. The point of interest in this connection is the fact that they are supported by the treasury of the states in which they are located, and are the products of democratic government. They do not, it is true, rival the great institutions of Berlin and Vienna [as to pure science] but the scientific schools of Zürich taken together offer advantages inferior to few German universities. In the case of Zürich the central government does the larger part, *but Geneva, with a population of about 118,000 maintains out of its own resources a university with a faculty of a hundred professors.*"

Turning to primary and secondary instructions Professor Vincent says: "As a whole, Switzerland is said to have, relatively to the population, *more public schools than any other European nation.*" The fundamental principles upon which the school system is built are, that "the rudiments of knowledge shall be freely given to every child, *and that every child shall be compelled to receive them.*"

Furthermore, there are more than one hundred technical and industrial schools, each being located where it is of the utmost practical value. And there is agricultural education and experimentation.

Fine arts are stimulated by an annual appropriation of some 100,000 francs.

"The Bureau of Statistics is one of the most efficient of its kind," says Professor Vincent.

The above tendencies are the result of the people's sovereignty. It has resulted in a large number of Swiss professors of economic, political and social science—men whose life work is to ascertain the principles of social evolution and publish their work. Thus Switzerland has a trained body of Experts in Social Science in place of False Teachers, such as exist under the deceptive rule of the few.

The application of the expert knowledge of Swiss social scientists is in two directions:

1. Toward improving conditions by means of law-making; and,
2. Toward disseminating among the people the knowledge concerning social evolution, which leads them to adopt the progressive laws recommended by the expert representatives; and the people act in other ways as befits a civilized community.

Let us consider the first sub-division, namely, the application of social truths through guarded representative government, first demonstrating that representatives are experts and that they exercise their own best judgment.

b. *EXPERTS IN GOVERNMENT SERVICE EXERCISE THEIR OWN JUDGMENT.*

The striking fact which meets an inquirer into the system of guarded representative government is that the sovereign power—the people—*employ expert representatives who are uninstructed, just as the level-headed business man employs his lawyer and architect. Furthermore, the expert representatives whom the people employ are continued in their positions as long as they are fitted to discharge their duties, just as business men retain their expert advisers.* The details of the system which results in these expert advisers are as follows.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS.

At the head of the executive departments of the Swiss federal government is the Federal Council, consisting of seven members who are elected by the national legislature at the beginning of every new term of the lower house and who hold office for three years. Each member is the head of a department.

The chairman of the Council is chosen annually

by the legislature, and is known as the President of the Confederation. His alternate is called Vice-President of the Federal Council. The retiring President cannot be elected to the same office or to that of Vice-President, for the year ensuing, nor can the same member serve as Vice-President during two consecutive years.

Thus the heads of the several executive departments are chosen by the people's representatives, who themselves are experts, as we shall show, and who are continued in office from year to year and are not tempted by monopolists, for the final power as to legislation is in the people and they refuse to grant a legal privilege.

This expert legislative body does not elect the head of a department until after his fitness has been demonstrated. This is proved by the fact that since 1874, when the people's veto was adopted, not a single member of the Federal Council has been obliged to retire involuntarily.

Not only are these heads of departments experts but they are more free to exercise their own best judgment than is the manager of a private monopoly, for the manager of such an organization must cater to the majority of the stockholders and a majority of the board of directors. Furthermore, whenever there is a change in the men who own a majority of the stock in a private trust, there is sure to be a change in the presidency of the corporation—a change in the management. In Switzerland, on the other hand, the expert manager is continued as long as he is able to serve. And there is no fossilism, for the heads of subdepartments and each clerk are free to offer suggestions and the Federal Assembly is the dominant power.

The fundamental reason for these high qualities in the executive department is that the people possess a Veto and a Direct Initiative—they possess the final power and therefore leave their agents to exercise their own best judgment, each recommendation being accepted or rejected as is thought best. But before the recommendation reaches the people from the cabinet officials it passes through a body of experts in the federal assembly. And there, too, the system is ideal:

EMPLOYMENT OF EXPERTS IN THE LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT—STATESMANSHIP A PROFESSION.

The head of each executive department drafts bills which are agreed to by the cabinet as a matter of course and introduced in the federal assembly, where the head of the department can speak for his measures when they come up and can make motions. *This introduces in the legislative body the very men who manage the several departments. And they must always reply to questions touching their departments, answer to be made at once or at the following sitting.*

This system is direct and business-like. There is no suppression of truth and at the same time there are experts in every department who are in immediate contact with the details. These experts guide and direct public policy. presenting such bills as they deem best and objecting to such as in their opinion are not for the people's best interests.

It follows that the public service becomes a profession. The highest talent is drawn into the public service, for it is recognized that statesmanship is the highest and most responsible position of trust.

Proof that public service becomes a profession in a democracy is the fact that since the adoption of the optional referendum in federal affairs in Switzerland in 1874 *not one of the executive council has retired involuntarily.* This is a record which speaks volumes.

That politics is a profession in Switzerland is further demonstrated by the records concerning the members of the legislative department. For example, in 1887 in the election of members of the national council *only 40 per cent. of the seats were contested, and in five of these cases the contest was between men of the same party.* In the election of 1896 out of the 160 members in the national council there were only 25 new ones and in the council of states only 8 new ones. This was stated in the *Revue du Droit Public*, November-December, 1896. And this publication adds:

> Between 1888 and 1896 this national council of 160 has only lost 20 of its members by non-re-election, while 62 retired voluntarily.

c. *PROCEDURE IN LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT IS IDEAL.*

(1) EVERY AVENUE FOR DECEPTION IS BLOCKED.

Every avenue for deception is blocked in the legislative department, for the era of deception is outgrown. There is no deception because the people's veto is a guaranty that no legal privilege can be enacted, while the existence of the direct initiative is an assurance that an attempt to prevent the consideration of a measure would be ineffective. We find, therefore, in the Swiss federal assembly the following procedure:

> The rules allow debate to be brought to a close by a vote of two-thirds of the members present, but this cannot take place so long as any member who has not spoken desires to offer an amendment and to explain it.*

COMPARISON WITH DECEPTION UNDER THE RULE OF THE FEW.

Compare this with the system of government where the few rule through popular forms! In the United States it is known by everyone that gag rule is applied in the House whenever the speaker desires it. In the Senate, however, the old-time theory as to the sovereignty of the states has resulted in debate as long as the representative of a state desires it. This goes to the other extreme. The extraordinary procedure in the House of Representatives is described in the following words by Senator Hoar:

> A large proportion, *perhaps the majority of the bills which pass the house are carried through under a suspension of the rules.* * * * In this mode hundreds of measures of vital importance receive, near the close of an exhausting session, without being debated, amended, printed, or understood, the constitutional assent of the representatives of the American people.†

But the suspension of the rules is only one of the tricks. The silver dollar was demonetized in 1873 by bringing in a codification of the mint laws and dropping the word "silver" from the clause

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* Government in Switzerland, by Prof. Vincent, page 185.

† Congressional Government, by Woodrow Wilson, p. 112.

enumerating the coins to be given unrestricted coinage. This subterfuge was introduced in Congress only fourteen days after the same procedure in England had resulted successfully. The Privy Council of England had possessed the power to order the coinage of silver dollars and this power was terminated in the underhanded manner pointed out.

That the demonetization of silver in the United States was accomplished by deception is proved by a statement in the *Congressional Record*, three years after the silver dollar had been demonetized. Senator Conkling on the floor of the Senate is reported to have said:

> Will the Senator [Bogy] allow me to ask him or some other Senator a question? Is it true that there is now by law no American dollar? (*Congressional Record*, 44th Congress, 1st Session, p. 2062.)

Two years after the silver dollar was dropped from the coinage laws and before the change was publicly known, Congress enacted a law for the resumption of specie payments, *and the men who voted for it believed that resumption was to be in gold and silver, not knowing that the law would compel resumption in gold alone.* The men who drew the bill knew what they were doing and took great pains not to inform Congress, nor did they permit any debate in the house, and only a short debate in the Senate and that on the very day the printed bill reached its members. The facts demonstrating this are stated in The Money Question, pages 313-315, a book compiled by the writer of these pages.

The above are illustrations of the method whereby the few are ruling the American people. The installation of the initiative and referendum in national affairs will change the system, substituting a truth-giving system similar to the one in Switzerland.

(2) Freedom of Speech and Liberty of Action by Representatives.

We have stated that the Swiss representatives are not instructed and therefore are free to exercise their own best judgment. Proof of this is as follows. Says Professor Vincent in "Government in Switzerland," (page 180):

> Freedom of speech and liberty of action in voting are guaranteed [in the Federal Congress]. No positive instructions can be forced upon a representative in either house by his constituents.

The same custom prevails in the Legislatures. In the words of Professor Vincent:

> The members of Legislatures * * * must not take binding instructions from their constituents, but consider themselves representatives of the whole people. Freedom of opinion, consequently, and liberty of judgment to legislators are fully provided for. (p. 67.)

The reason why the voters do not attempt to instruct their legislative representatives is because *the representatives do not finally determine the law;* they only recommend the bills, and the voters themselves finally determine the fate of each bill except urgency measures, the usual appropriations and treaties.

The foregoing is the result in the Swiss Legislatures and Congress. The principle is the same in the United States. In Constitutional Conventions the representatives who frame the measures and then submit the instrument to a direct ballot of the voters are seldom instructed. Did the voters posses the power to veto separate clauses there would be no instructions. As to statute law, the voters in Oregon and South Dakota possess the full right to the optional referendum, therefore, in the election of men to the legislature it will henceforth be impossible to thresh out, at that time, the state issues, for at a later date the questions must come before the voters in the form of carefully drawn bills, and after they have been fairly and fully considered in a non-partisan manner. In other words, in South Dakota and Oregon the members of the legislature are, as to state laws, left practically free to exercise their own judgment. They are counsellors instead of rulers. In city affairs in South Dakota the same principle prevails. The aldermen are stripped of power to rule and therefore are employees of the people.

To such an extent do the representatives feel that they should voice their own best judgment that the Swiss Radicals refuse to be bound by a party caucus.

The same principle prevails in the Swiss cabinet, each head of department proposing such changes as he deems best and they are submitted to the legislative body by the cabinet.

The foregoing institutions for ascertaining social truth and applying the same are only part of the system, for the people make each legislative body a highly developed court for the trial of social questions:

(3) Direct Initiative Makes Legislative Department a Highly Developed Court for Trial of Social Questions.

(a) *SWISS FEDERAL SYSTEM.*

The federal constitution of Switzerland adopted in 1848 provided that on petition of 50,000 citizens calling for a revision of the constitution the question should be put to a vote of the people.

This was re-enacted in the constitution of 1874.

In 1879 the required petition of 50,000 citizens requested a revision by inserting a clause against the issuance of paper money by private corporations. But the government officials construed "revision" to mean "total revision," whereas the minutes of the constitutional convention showed that the intention was to include both total and partial revision.

Organized wage-earners pressed for a constitutional amendment for partial revision and secured it in 1891. The substance of the system follows:

> 50,000 voters, (about 8 per cent.), may propose to the Federal assembly a general proposition or a completed bill. The measure is referred to a committee, where testimony and argument are received, and books and papers can be called for. A competing measure can be framed if the committee so desires. The committee's report to the house is debated and voted upon; then, after an agreement between the two houses is reached, the case goes to the people, who choose between the measures or reject both.

This is the Initiative or Direct Initiative as distinguished from the people's indirect initiative.

You ask, what has been the history of this direct initiative?

(b) *HISTORY OF THE DIRECT INITIATIVE IN FEDERAL SWITZERLAND.*

The direct initiative in federal affairs in Switzerland was adopted in 1891, *but only three bills have been submitted because the mere presence of the system has resulted in a fair and full discussion of nearly all the measures which the minority have been advocating.* A wide range of progressive measures have been enacted, described in the next chapter.

Let us take up in detail the national measures proposed through the direct initiative.

(a1) Slaughter House Regulations.

It was about a year after the adoption of the direct initiative before a case was filed with the legislative body. It was a bill providing that in the slaughter of animals by bleeding to death they should first be stunned. This proposed regulation was to prevent the Jewish system of slaughter. The proposed regulation existed in two of the cantons and the federal authorities were urged to extend it. They refused and the case was taken up through the direct initiative. 83,000 signatures to the petition were readily secured whereas the law required but 50,000. The Federal Assembly recommended that the regulation be rejected, but a majority of the voters and a majority of the cantons voted for the bill.

The criticism of this law by the opponents of popular government is that it was adopted for the purpose of oppressing the Jews and not for humanitarian motives. That this is a false conclusion will be borne out by everyone who has witnessed the slowly ebbing consciousness and the presence of fear in animals bled to death without being stunned.

But the bill did not provide a penalty for failure to obey the law and the legislative body has refused to provide a penalty, and thus the slaughter-house regulation is a dead letter except the educational effect.

(b1) Socialist Party Proposals.

The slaughter-house bill was proposed in 1892. The next year, a time when industrial depression prevailed, the Socialist party proposed in a single bill a series of measures as follows:

The right to have adequately paid work provided belongs to each Swiss citizen. Federal legislation and cantonal and communal laws are to render this right effective by every means possible. In particular the following policies shall prevail:

(a) The hours of work are to be reduced in the greatest possible number of branches of industry, with the aim of making work more plentiful.

(b) Institutions such as workingmen's exchanges are to be organized, in order to procure work gratuitously for workmen. Workmen are to be legally protected against unjustifiable dismissal.

(d) Workmen are to be insured in such a manner that they shall be protected against the consequences of loss of work, either by means of a public insurance, or by insuring workmen in private institutions by the aid of public funds.

(e) The right of meeting is to be efficaciously protected, so that the formation of associations to protect workmen against their masters shall never be prevented, nor the right of joining in such associations be interfered with.

(f) An official board shall be established to which workmen might appeal against their masters; and work in the factories and workshops is to be organized in a democratic manner, especially in the factories and workshops managed by the state and the communes.*

This proposal was signed by 52,387 names,—only a few more than the minimum required by law. The vote when referred to the people was overwhelmingly defeated—75,880 for and 232,409 against.

This experience is instructive. In the first place it demonstrates that the Socialist party, which previous to the establishment of the direct initiative demanded the immediate public ownership of *all* the means of production and distribution, changed their demand when they planned for a discussion in the federal assembly followed by referendum vote. It would have been ridiculous to demand the immediate public ownership of all the means of production and distribution.

A second lesson to be drawn is that several measures should not be placed together in a single bill or proposal. Many of the measures in the above proposal are in practical operation in Switzerland to-day, but the people will not declare for a series of general propositions. Fortunately they are too practical for such a thing.

Gratuitous Medical Attendance for All Was Not Wanted.

Shortly after the defeat of the Socialist party measure a petition was circulated proposing gratuitous medical attendance for all. The project succeeded in getting only 40,000 signatures and therefore had to be dropped.

(c1) Expenditure of Tariff Duties.

The third initiative that went to a referendum vote was a proposal that the surplus from tariff duties should not be expended by the federal assembly but by the cantonal legislatures. Here the question was a debatable one and the proposition was lost by a large majority.

This third direct initiative was in 1894, since which time no others have come to a vote of the people, we believe. About 1896 a petition was circulated for a time concerning public ownership of the railways, but the proposal by the federal assembly was considered sufficient and the referendum vote was on that proposition.

The advantages of this direct initiative are manifest: *Congress, the Legislatures and Common Councils become highly developed courts for the trial of social questions. But the mere existence of the system accomplishes most of the work.*

This direct initiative and the people's veto in combination with high-class representatives has resulted in manifold changes, some of which are described in this chapter and which may be summarized as follows:

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* The Referendum in Switzerland, by Deploige, p. 237.

Summary as to Institutions for Ascertaining and Applying Social Truth.

Reviewing the entire chapter we find that the people's sovereignty has resulted in the establishment of institutions for ascertaining and applying social truth. Academic freedom exists and compulsory education, while the representatives in the government are experts who exercise their own best judgment, and statesmanship has become a profession. The procedure in the legislative and executive departments is ideal, for there is freedom of speech and liberty of action by representatives, coupled with a direct initiative in five per cent. of the people, by means of which the legislative body becomes a highly developed court for the trial of social questions.

2. People's Veto Through Optional Referendum—Mere Presence is Effective—Few Bills Are Put to Referendum Vote.

In the foregoing sections is described the Swiss federal congress, also the executive department of the federal government, and the direct initiative. We have yet to describe the people's veto which operates through the system known as the Optional Referendum.

The federal constitution adopted in 1874 and supplemented by statutory law provides as follows:

> During the ninety days following the publication of the measures enacted by the federal congress, 30,000 voters or eight cantons (states) may order one or more of the measures to a vote of the people except such as are immediately necessary for the preservation of the public peace, health, or safety, and excepting, also, treaties with foreign states and the usual appropriations.

This system has been in operation for twenty years, during which time the cantons have not exercised the right to demand a referendum vote, *and there were eleven years in which the voters did not order a bill to a direct vote.* During the nine years in which bills were submitted, a vote was demanded on 18 bills, of which 12 were rejected. Of these 12, 4 were afterwards slightly revised and accepted without a direct vote.*

In the Swiss canton of St. Gall, or as we would term it, the state of St. Gall, the optional referendum was adopted in 1861, and up to and including 1894, a period of 33 years, there were 22 *years in which no law was put to a direct ballot.*

During the 11 years in which bills were submitted, but 16 bills were put to a direct vote.†

St. Gall is a German canton. In the Italian canton of Ticino the optional referendum was adopted in 1883, and from that time till 1892 *a period of 9 years, was used but 3 times.* ||

In the French cantons the results are equally satisfactory. In *Vaud*, the Optional Referendum was adopted in 1885, and no bill has been put to popular vote. In Geneva and in Neuchatel the optional referendum was adopted in 1879. But one bill has been put to popular vote in Neuchatel, and two in Geneva.**

In the United States an even smaller number of bills have been ordered to a direct ballot. In South Dakota the system has been in operation during two sessions of the legislature and not a bill has been ordered to a direct vote. In Oregon the system has existed since the closing of a session of the legislature and not a bill has been ordered to a direct vote.

In the South Dakota cities and in the Iowa cities scarcely a bill has been ordered to a direct vote.

The conclusion to be drawn from the Swiss and American experience is that the mere existence of the people's veto is effective, just as the mere presence of a policeman keeps out the toughs.

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* Government in Switzerland, p. 192, by Prof. Vincent, of Johns Hopkins University; Government and Parties in Continental Europe, by Prof. Lowell of Harvard University, Vol. II, p. 255.

† Government and Parties in Continental Europe, by Lowell, Vol. II, pp. 263, 264.

|| Government and parties in Continental Europe, by Lowell, Vol. II, p. 265.

** Government and Parties in Continental Europe, by Prof. Lowell Vol. II, p. 265.

3. Summary as to Results of People's Veto and Direct Initiative.

The far-reaching results of the establishment of a people's veto and direct initiative are pointed out in the preceding sections, namely, *the entire system of Representative Government is improved and to a remarkable extent.* In place of the representative system of government in which the few rule through deception there is a complete change; there is academic freedom, the employment of expert representatives in the government who exercise their own best judgment, and a procedure in the legislative department that is ideal. In other words, there is enlightened majority rule in place of trustocracy and a trustocratic empire. Such of the few bills as do go to a referendum vote are ordered to a referendum in the following manner:

4. Details of Referendum System for Such Few Bills as Are Voted Upon by the People.

a. CIRCULATION OF PETITIONS—PARTISANSHIP IS ELIMINATED.

The securing of 30.000 signatures ordering a referendum vote is no small affair. The way it is brought about in Switzerland is described by a Belgian lawyer, Simon Deploige, who visited the country in 1891 and wrote a book. He says:

> The localities or classes of citizens specially affected by a law organize the opposition. *They band themselves together without distinction of party and co ittees are set on foot to spread their views and collect signatures.* These coalitions and committees have merely an ephemeral existence,—they dissolve and disappear as soon as they have effected their purpose.

b. THE CAMPAIGN PRECEDING REFERENDUM VOTE—TRUTH IS MADE KNOWN TO VOTERS—AN EDUCATIONAL VALUE.

In the campaign which follows after the 30,000 or more signatures are secured the merits and demerits of the measure are emphasized. The campaign is conducted by those who have banded themselves together without distinction of party. It follows that there is no appeal to partisan prejudices. It is the facts themselves that are appealed to and the self-interests of the voters. And the exact facts are known, for the measure has been fully and fairly considered in the federal assembly; testimony has been taken if either party demands it, and books and papers have been sent for. In short, the truth has been sifted out and the principles of social progress have been discussed.

It follows that THE ONLY MEASURES THAT ARE ORDERED TO A REFERENDUM VOTE ARE CLOSE QUESTIONS, *and it is proper that these close questions should be debated, for the people must live under the law and therefore should become acquainted with its meaning and probable effect.*

As an educational system, therefore, the optional referendum is invaluable even if the recommendation of Congress is approved.

Furthermore, if a desirable measure is voted down the first time it is sure to be brought forward a little later and again debated, and if voted down it is brought forward a third time and debated. For example, the proposal for public ownership of the railroads of Switzerland was voted down the first time, the price being too high. Then a measure was framed establishing a principle whereby to determine an equitable price for railways that should be taken over, and this was adopted by the voters. One and a half years later a department for the administration of railways was provided and details were enacted for financing the debt. This was adopted by the people and by a majority of more than 2 to 1. Such, in brief, was the education and legislation for the transition from private monopolies in railways to public ownership. In each of the campaigns the real issue was fairly and squarely discussed. There was no demagogy. Furthermore, the system adopted for taking over the roads protects the public from robbery, for the stockholders receive only the amount of capital actually invested, whereas in the counties where the few rule through party government the transition to public ownership has been an additional means for fleecing the people.

c. THE REFERENDUM VOTE.

(1) No Vote-Purchasing at Referendum Elections.

Passing from the campaign to the referendum vote, experience demonstrates that there is no vote-purchasing at referendum elections except where the question is as to the location of a state capital or county seat. In such case a special privilege is at stake and it tends to an undue expenditure of funds. There are few instances, however, in which a special privilege is necessary, and the voters reject every proposal for an unnecessary special privilege. The seekers after special privilege have found it out and know that it is useless to attempt to carry a referendum election by the use of money.

But where the voters do not possess a veto it pays the monopolists to lobby for legal privileges. For example, at a session of the Michigan legislature some two years ago, a bill was lobbied through granting to a private corporation the ownership of a franchise for a street railway in Grand Rapids. But the opponents of the measure secured the insertion of a clause making the franchise subject to the approval of the voters at a referendum election. It is reported that the lobbyist got his $50,000 before his principal, who resided in another state, knew of the referendum clause. When the principal discovered this he attempted to stop the payment to the lobbyist; he declared that the act of the legislature was worthless to him, for if put to a referendum vote it would be snowed under. The lobbyist had secured his money and the principal declined to put the measure to a referendum ballot.

As a general principle, then, we can state that there is no vote-purchasing at referendum elections. The results are far reaching:—

(2) The Ignorant and Indifferent Voters Are Self-Disfranchised.

Owing to the absence of vote-purchasing at referendum elections the ignorant and indifferent voters stay away from the polls, thus leaving the decision to the intelligent and earnest voters. It is self-evident that the voters who remain away from the polls are either ignorant or indifferent. This self-disfranchisement is an admirable solution of the white-suffrage question.

There is no tendency to withdraw from the disfranchised the benefits of free education. On the contrary, the people's sovereignty results in development of the educational system. Switzerland has more public school facilities per capita than any other European nation.

In the United States the tendency is toward the high standard of the Swiss democracy.

(3) Intelligent and Earnest Voters Do Not Vote Blindly But Exercise Judgment.

Under the optional referendum only close questions are debated and put to a vote. This arouses an interest, and the intelligent and earnest voters do not blindly accept bills nor blindly reject them. They accept some and reject others. For example, in the federal elections in Switzerland under the optional referendum there have been four times at which more than one bill was voted upon at an election. On two occasions, 1877 and 1896, a portion of the bills were accepted and others were rejected. In 1884 all four of the bills were rejected, while in 1897 both bills were accepted.

In this country also we find that the voters do not blindly vote for or against measures, but exercise their judgment and endeavor to protect their interests. The data is quite fully collected in the Direct Legislation Record.

SUMMARY.

It is clear, then, that under the optional referendum only a few bills are put to a ballot of the voters, that no vote-purchasing is attempted, that the ignorant and indifferent are self-disfranchised, that the intelligent and earnest voters decide which of the few bills put to a vote become law, and that free education is developed.

(4) Objections Answered—Compulsory Referendum Distinguished.

Let us now consider the charge that the Referendum is impracticable because (1) too many bills are submitted, and (2) the vote cast is too small, and (3) that the voters are not fitted to pass upon complex questions, etc.

The answer is that the fault-finders do not distinguish the Optional from the Compulsory Referendum. Under the optional referendum there is only an occasional bill put to a direct ballot, and then each contest simmers down to one or two clauses of a bill. This elimination of everything but one or two specific points presents to the voters a much more simple question than is the case where an entire platform of a party is voted for with no power to accept part and reject part.

But the compulsory referendum of *all* bills is an absurdity. Many people fail to note that the Compulsory Referendum is an entirely different thing from the Optional Referendum. *Where no distinction is made, there is condemnation of the Optional Referendum along with the Compulsory Referendum.* It is important, therefore, that we take particular pains to draw attention to this difference. By making this distinction it enables us to summarily dispose of the claim that too many bills are voted upon and that the vote cast is so small that the system is not a success. Practically all the instances in which a small vote has been cast have occurred under a Compulsory Referendum; *bills which, under the Optional Referendum, would not have been ordered to a direct ballot.*

The objection to the compulsory referendum is that *it is an attempt to do away with Division of Labor.* This is unwise, for it is impossible for the voters to familiarize themselves with all the bills that are passed by a legislative body. Even the members of legislative bodies do not attempt to do so, for it is practically impossible. They accept the report of the legislative committee as to all points, except where a minority report calls attention to disagreements. These points of difference, the legislator has time to investigate, but he cannot investigate every part of each bill. The same principle holds true as to the voters. They must accept the bills agreed upon by their representatives, except upon the specific points upon which the minority make a strenuous contest. On these points the testimony is taken and arguments made. The arguments are based upon the facts set forth in the testimony and *the gist of the case can go to the voters and be examined by them. This is practicable, and much more so than is the case where an entire platform is thrown at the voters with but few specific points raised, and as to those, no testimony as to facts or principles, but pure demagogy by the side that tries to conceal the truth.*

In short, the optional referendum is practicable because (1) the voters are called upon to examine only a few points (much fewer than are raised under the party system of legislation); (2) the questions presented are in such shape that the truth is readily ascertained by the voters; and (3) upon each measure there is stated a specific "Yes" or "No." This system is worthy of being termed civilized, The party system of legislation is mediaeval, to say the least. Evolution in the systems of representative government is from the Party System, with its "machine" (through which a few men rule by the use of wealth), to Guarded Representative Government, a system in which there is division of labor and it is carried to a high degree of perfection. The nomination and election of the people's representatives are uninfluenced by the power of wealth, and the representatives that are elected are shorn of all power to use their delegated power for selfish ends.

In Switzerland the optional referendum exists in federal affairs and in nine cantons, while the compulsory referendum exists in eight cantons. These facts should be borne in mind whenever there is a criticism of the Swiss system, for example, that the referendum operates to discourage voting or that laws are enacted to compel people to vote. *These valid objections are to the compulsory referendum of all bills. No such objections apply to the optional referendum. In America the optional system is in operation, and no one is advocating the compulsory system for all bills.* It was advocated in one of the earliest books in this country, Sullivan on Direct Legislation, but experience has demonstrated the impracticability of such a scheme.

If it is claimed that there is ring rule even where the referendum exists, the answer is that no ring can rule where all the voters have a right to a direct ballot on public questions.

5. Summary, also Advice to Speakers and Writers.

Reviewing the fundamental principles in the system of government that result from the people's sovereignty. we find that it is a highly developed system of Representative Government.

That is the fact which we should always present and emphasize. The ruling few will endeavor to evade the issue and so will their advocates. But we must hold them to the issue. Don't let them dodge it and go into a mere discussion of the referendum vote, which is the usual method of evasion. Show that the mere existence of the people's veto and direct initiative results in a complete change in the system of representative government, as is demonstrated in the preceding chapters. namely, that party government (machine rule) is terminated. In other words, the final authority as to legislation is no longer in the party in power but is in the people, and therefore the government is conducted in the interest of the people.

In the legislative department the character of the representatives is vastly improved, for soon the special privileges are terminated. There are no monopolists to dictate nominations and influence elections, thus the people are free to nominate and elect whoever they may care to choose.

And these representatives are continued in office from year to year, with practically no campaign expenses.

The people hold them in high esteem for there are no charges of boodling or corruption, and the able and public spirited men are elected to office.

The bills enacted by these high-class representatives are in the interest of the people and therefore are adopted *without referendum vote.* Only the close questions are ordered to a referendum vote by petition of five or eight per cent. of the people.

All of these improvements in the representative system are directly due to the people's veto and direct initiative. Unless this fact is clearly grasped and kept in the foreground you are outgeneraled.

In making Representative Government the issue, the points to emphasize are, Who should possess the veto power, one man or the voters? and why shouldn't the people possess a direct initiative? Why shouldn't the people possess these powers? If the people don't possess these powers the party machine does, and the people are its slaves. But if the people possess a veto power and a direct initiative *they* are the sovereigns and there are no slaves.

Ask for specific objections to a people's veto and a direct initiative. If objections are made, it will be an open attack upon popular government, which will expose the animus, namely, the desire to retain special privileges or an ignorance as to the improved system of representative government. In either case you can readily handle your opponent. Stick to fundamentals *and prove them by the best evidence you can muster.* See especially the testimony as to results in Oregon, South Dakota and Iowa cities.

Emphasize the fact that we point to systems in successful operation, and thus *prove* our case. Our opponents answer by evasion—the usual trick where one has no case. Comment quite fully on this fallacy so that it will loom up in the minds of your hearers or readers. When they fully understand the trick your case will be won.

Remember that it is not majority rule but Enlightened Majority Rule—a vast difference.

Enlightened majority rule should supersede the rule of the few because—First, The process of centralization has gone so far that the forms of popular government are openly repudiated in three States, Colorado, Utah and Illinois, and civil war prevails in Colorado and may become national at any time—centralization must be terminated; and

Secondly, The aim of legislation under the rule of the few is for their own selfish interests, whereas final power in the people causes the laws to be framed for the general welfare.

From the standpoint of evolution, you can point out that the people's veto and direct initiative are stages in the development of representative government. Evolution, therefore, is working for this reform, consequently it cannot be evaded. It is as immutable as the law of gravitation.

And the higher stage in representative government *benefits all*, just as improvements in electricity or in medicine and surgery benefit all. All participate in the improved state of society.

Further argumentation is at page 63 and Appendix II.

Observe that the referendum is *the people's veto.*

And note, also, that *the initiative includes a referendum vote.* Therefore in mentioning the two systems it will be well to say "referendum and initiative." If you say "initiative and referendum" your hearers usually think of one system only, that in which the people initiate measures and then cast a referendum vote. Prof. Richard T. Ely and Prof. Vincent in "Government in Switzerland" each say "referendum and initiative."

Next we shall describe the legislation that results from the above described system of government.

CHAPTER XX.

PEOPLE'S SOVEREIGNTY THROUGH GUARDED REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT RESULTS IN HIGHER STAGES OF CIVILIZATION:

Part IV. Switzerland.

B. LEGISLATION IN SWITZERLAND.

1. MERIT SYSTEM IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE.

One of the leading elements discoverable in Switzerland is that the people insist upon an effective service from their employees. Self-interest operates that way. Proof as to the effectiveness of the public service is as follows:

Secretary Doyle of the United States Civil Service Commission has stated publicly that the Swiss civil service is of the highest character, fully equal to the Prussian. And Prof. Lowell says:

> Appointments to office are not made for political purposes by the federal authorities, or by those of most of the cantons. Officials are selected on their merits, and retained as long as they can do their work; and yet the evils of a bureaucracy scarcely exist.*

2. PUBLIC EMPLOYEES NOT A PRIVILEGED CLASS.

The public employees in Switzerland are not a privileged class, for the people and not the office-holders are the sovereign power. Equal rights prevail. The application of this doctrine is seen in the defeat of a proposal for an old-age pension which was to apply to government employees only. The special privilege for government employees was rejected March 16, 1891 and by the largest majority then known, 353,977 noes to 91,851 ayes.

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* Government and Parties in Continental Europe, by Lowell, Vol. II, p. 335.

A Bernese peasant who had voted against the bill stated to Deploige his reason in the following words:

When I am old and past work I do not get a pension. Then why should these gentlemen in the federal offices get one? Their income is much larger than that of many a citizen.*

Compare this with the rule of the few through the party system! Under that system the people are taxed to pay high salaries and in many cases to pension those of the party in power who hold office, while most of the disabled poor are carted to the poor house. Under majority rule there is an abolition of privileged classes. All receive equal treatment. The character of this equal treatment is of a high order.

3. *TERMINATION OF MILITARISM WHERE PEOPLE RULE.*

Where the people are in power there is no need for a standing army. In other words, one of the results of the people's sovereignty is the termination of militarism. In Switzerland, for example, the federal government is not permitted to maintain a standing army nor "are the cantons allowed, without special permission, to keep standing forces beyond three hundred men each, outside of the mounted police, and of this privilege they do not avail themselves."†

But every citizen is liable to military duty, is carefully drilled, each soldier retaining his arms and accoutrements in his own house, and competition in marksmanship is encouraged.

Thus the republic can "at a moment's notice put more than 280,000 men in the field, and if necessary nearly 500,000 would rise to its defense." All this in a population of only three millions. "No great army is apparent to the eye in time of peace," says Prof. Vincent, and he continues: "No draft upon the youthful strength of the nation withdraws for a term of years a large body of workingmen into an unproductive occupation, yet by careful organization and short periods of drill the whole able-bodied male population has been made into an army. We are carried back to the old Germanic idea of the folk as 'the people in arms.' It is interesting to see how this has all been done under a democratic instead of an absolute form of government; how the army itself is yet to a certain degree republican, and how precision of movement in military affairs is not incompatible with local independence in other departments of state."

The natural defenses of the country have been guarded to the best advantage. Great care has been expended upon the engineering works of the frontier, and there is rapid communication between all parts. Furthermore, "the central government maintains establishments for the manufacture of cartridges, small arms, and cannon, and holds a monopoly of gun-powder, hence is in a position to assume at any moment of danger complete control over all the forces of war, both men and munitions."

4. *FREEING OF SUBJECT RACES UNDER MAJORITY RULE—RESTORATION OF AMERICAN REPUBLIC.*

Another result which follows from the establishment of the people's sovereignty is the freeing of subject races. It is inconceivable that a free people would refuse to promise to the Filipinos independence under a protectorate the independence to be atttained when, in the opinion of the United States, a stable government is established. Such a promise would restore the great American Republic and do justice to ten million Filipinos. At present the system of government in the United States is that of an *empire*, for the Filipinos and Porto Ricans are held as *subjects*. This is glossed over so far as possible by terming them our Insular Possessions, and in a report by several of the professors in our universities as to how these subject races can be made to yield the greatest revenue, they speak of the United States as the "mother country!" This shows the extremity to which they are driven for language.

The above paragraph is a diversion from our description of the Swiss system of government but the need for treating the subject is sufficient reason for its introduction.

5. *ABOLITION OF LEGAL PRIVILEGES WHERE PEOPLE ARE IN POWER—TERMINATION OF TRUST PRICES.*

The most important of all the legislation that results from the people's sovereignty is the termination of legal privileges—the termination of private monopoly and trust prices. Self-interest operates in just that way. Where the people rule they refuse to give to one of their number a legal privilege—an authority to tax them. The only exceptions are state capitals, county seats, railroad sites and other locations. They are legal privileges and cannot be dispensed with, for it is impracticable to continually move the capital or a railroad site.

Wherever legal privileges exist that are not necessary it is proof that the legislative power is in the few and not in the people. Where the people are in power they root out the privileges.

In Switzerland, for example, the result of the optional referendum was national control of railway rates and a detailed system of bookkeeping and accounting in order to protect the public. In this way the private control was terminated in 1883. The railways ceased to be a private monopoly and became a publicly regulated monopoly. Later came public ownership.

In the United States, on the other hand, the so-called regulation of monopolies is merely a means for keeping the people quiet while the monopolists charge all that the traffic will bear except as discriminating rates are granted. Such is the case with rare exceptions. The system of government is two-faced, as is described in Chapters III. and IV.

The issuance of paper money is another illustration. In Switzerland the federal constitution provides that "The confederation cannot declare bank notes or other similar paper money to be legal tender, except in extremity in time of war."* But

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* Deploige, p. 232, Tomn's Ed.

† Government in Switzerland, by Vincent, p. 223.

* Government in Switzerland, by Vincent, p. 304.

in the United States the private corporations known as national banks are issuing 300,000,000 dollars of legal tender paper money. Each bank note is a legal tender between national banks, which causes it to circulate the same as full legal tender money.

Having demonstrated that the establishment of the people's sovereignty results in the termination of legal privileges, including trust prices, it will be well to note that the excessive charges which come from trust prices are a Private Tax: The trust prices result from legislation or the refusal to legislate and the excessive charge goes into private pockets and therefore is a private tax.

One of the results of the people's sovereignty is the termination of private taxation, as we have shown. Another result is that taxation for public purposes is re-adjusted:—

6. *RE-ADJUSTMENT OF PUBLIC TAXATION AFTER PEOPLE'S SOVEREIGNTY IS ATTAINED.*

Where the few are in power they manage to evade a large amount of taxes. Such is the case in the United States. The methods of evasion are multitudinous.

But all is different where the people are in power. The Swiss system of taxation is such that individuals are taxed *in proportion to their ability.* Therefore, Progressive Taxation is an established system "and is gradually gaining wider acceptance." Such is the statement by Professor Vincent.

Another student of the Swiss system is Professor Jesse Macy, of Iowa College. In a letter from Switzerland in 1896 he says:

"This Swiss system of laying heavy burdens on the few for the benefit of the many is not only law; it is law thoroughly and rigidly executed. The laws seem to have been made by the rich men themselves with the definite intention of doing the things named in the law. The laws have been made with the idea of permanence. There is no thought of a mere temporary expedient to overcome a temporary difficulty. These rich men who have taken the lead in fastening heavy burdens on themselves and upon their children seem to really believe that the thing which they have done is just and right. When I have tried to explain to some of them that such measures in America were regarded as socialistic or communistic in their tendency they have thrown their heads back and indulged in a loud horse-laugh. The idea that the bankers and merchants and manufacturers of Switzerland should be accused of communism seemed to them supremely ridiculous! As the wealthy Swiss look upon the men of their own class they are convinced that they are better able to pay taxes than are men of less ample fortunes. It seems to them perfectly natural and right that their superior ability should be duly recognized in the system of direct taxation. It would be difficult to make Americans believe this; but it would be more difficult still to cause the Swiss to understand our American plutocracy. The wealthy Swiss, who thirty years ago determined to establish a system of taxation such as I have described had had actual experience of two radically different kinds of government. Until 1848 they and their class had ruled Switzerland for 300 years. Then there was a decade or two during which this class fared badly at the elections. The cynic, of course, is sure to say that they took the Democratic name and bound heavy burdens upon themselves for mere prudential reasons to avoid a worse fate, and the cynic may be correct as to the matter of ancient history; but thirty years of this sort of acting has important consequences. At any rate there can be no doubt that now the wealthy classes in Switzerland accept as just and right the paying of a higher rate of taxation than the less wealthy."

7. *FREEDOM OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY WHERE PEOPLE RULE—NOTABLE EXCEPTIONS.*

Another great principle that results from the people's sovereignty is that self-interest results in Freedom of Commerce and Industry, with few exceptions. This is demonstrated in Switzerland. The federal constitution Article 31. guarantees freedom of trade and industry throughout the whole extent of the confederation with the following exceptions,—

EXCEPTIONS TO FREEDOM OF TRADE AND INDUSTRY IN SWITZERLAND.

(*1*) *Government Monopoly of Gunpowder.*

The federal government has taken to itself a monopoly of gunpowder, except the low-grade qualities that are used in blasting. This monopoly strengthens the government as against neighboring countries.

(*2*) *Government Monopoly of Alcohol.*

The manufacture and sale of alcohol is also a government monopoly. The object is the suppression of private profit in order to diminish the use of the stuff and to prevent injurious adulteration.

The manufacture is controlled by the federal government and the retail sales are controlled by the cantons (states). In this way each locality or state can have prohibition if it chooses, and under the direct initiative the question can be put to a vote as often as five per cent. of the people may demand it.

Ten per cent. of the profits from the wholesale side of the business is expended in combating drunkenness and its effects.

In the ten years, 1885-95, the consumption of alcoholic liquors decreased about 30 per cent. "But," continues Prof. Vincent, "it would not be safe to say that the country had become temperate to this extent, for there is strong reason to believe that part of the reduced alcohol intended for the arts is either purified again and used for drinking or consumed outright in its mixed state."

In Basel, at least, the city by ordinance adopted in 1888 "has assumed the monopoly of retail distribution. This covers the high grades of alcoholic beverages, but not alcohol for use in the arts, nor the weaker spirituous and malt liquors, the sale of the latter being regulated by a system of licenses."*

In the European countries the Prohibition sentiment has not gained much headway as yet, but in the United States the establishment of the people's sovereignty in national and state affairs will mean a wonderful impetus for Prohibition and all forms

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* Vincent, p. 118.

of experimentation. Whatever methods will best minimize the evil effects of alcoholic beverages will be ascertained and applied. Progress, therefore, will be exceptionally rapid.

(3) *Government Monopoly of Salt.*

In Switzerland there is also a government monopoly of the sale of salt. This evidently commenced before the people attained their sovereignty, and is continued without as yet being brought to the ultimate basis, namely, that of supplying salt without taxing the purchasers. It is controlled by cantons, some reaping a profit or tax from the people and others supplying it at cost. The production of the salt is in private corperations while the price of foreign salt is controlled by a salt trust.

(4) *Principles Whereby Import Duties Are Levied Where People Rule.*

A fourth exception to freedom of trade and manufactures is import duties, and here the federal constitution lays down the principles whereby the tax shall be levied, namely,

Art. 29. The collection of the federal customs shall be regulated according to the following principles:

1. Duties on imports:
   - (a) Materials necessary for the manufactures and agriculture of the country shall be taxed as low as possible.
   - (b) It shall be the same with the necessities of life.
   - (c) Luxuries shall be subjected to the highest duties.

Unless there are imperative reasons to the contrary these principles shall be observed also in the conclusion of treaties of commerce with foreign powers.

2. The duties on exports shall also be as low as possible.
3. The customs legislation shall include suitable provisions for the continuance of commercial and market intercourse across the frontier.

The above provisions do not prevent the confederation from making temporary exceptional provisions, under extraordinary circumstances.*

Last year, 1903, a tariff bill enacted by the federal assembly was ordered to a referendum vote, the petition for the submission of the measure containing the names of about fifteen per cent. of the voters. "The opponents of the measure," writes Mr. Eltweed Pomeroy in the *National New Era* of January 1st, 1904,

urged that it would protect a few industries, some agricultural associations and prohibit the import of some necessities that are not made in Switzerland, but the people voted to accept it. The vote is very mixed up, as we find such purely agricultural cantons as Obwald, Nidwald, the Grisom casting heavy votes for it, and also such city Cantons as Lucerne and Zurich voting for it.

(5) *Factory Regulations Where People Are in Power.*

Since the dethronement of the ruling few in Switzerland the factory regulations have been vastly improved, as the following examples demonstrate:

* Vincent, p. 298.

Child Labor Effectually Terminated.

The employment in factories of children under the age of fourteen is prohibited. In the employment of those between fifteen and sixteen years of age, "the time reserved for educational and religious instruction may not be sacrificed to work in the factory." The form of expression here used shows that the aim is to effectually shut out all child labor. "Indeed," says Mr. Dawson, in his volume on "Social Switzerland," "Switzerland continues to occupy a unique position. The federal delegate to the Berlin Labor Congress of 1890 strenuously endeavored to bring the rest of the states there represented up to the same year of fourteen, but in vain, and twelve years was declared by the Congress to be a fitting age at which to introduce a child to factory life, though even ten years in the case of Southern countries."

Of factory inspection, in order to compel the observation of the aforesaid regulations, Mr. Dawson says:

"A careful lookout is kept by the inspectors and their assistants, and the offenders are strictly dealt with."

Additional regulations concerning child labor are as follows:

No juvenile under the age of eighteen may be employed at night or on Sunday, though in case of industries requiring unintermittent work boys of from fourteen to eighteen may be so employed if it appears to be indispensable both to the work and to the technical training of the boys themselves; and here the federal cabinet lay down special regulations as to the number of hours and the health of young workers.

The penalty of each and every infringement of the Federal Factory Act is a fine of from five to five hundred francs ($1 to $100), and, in case of repeated offenses, to imprisonment up to three months.

Women Are Protected.

The women who work in factories are protected by suitable regulations. Sunday and night work are forbidden to women under all circumstances. When they have household duties to perform they may leave work an hour before noon, unless the midday pause be an hour and a half. Concerning women who are about to become mothers, the rule laid down is that both before and after childbirth, a "close time" extending in all to at least eight weeks, shall be observed. The rule prescribes that they are not to be readmitted to the factory without proof that six weeks from the time of confinement has passed. The federal cabinet is empowered to prohibit altogether the employment of pregnant women in certain branches of industry.

These regulations are not rigidly enforced, and the rule as to the period of confinement is virtually a dead letter. "Women so circumstanced," we are told, "generally insist on earning money as long as possible, and only when a slight payment is made to them during absence are they willing to stay away."*

This statement indicates a needed provision in each factory act.

* Social Switzerland, by Dawson, p. 9.

8 *AID TO UNEMPLOYED UNDER GUARDED REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT.*

Where employment cannot be found the loss should not fall entirely upon those who are out of work, for they are no more responsible for the industrial depression than are their fellow-citizens. *Therefore, under majority rule the object is to divide the loss.* Consequently in Switzerland the unemployed who really are looking after work are not only kept from starving, but are housed, fed and clothed in a befitting manner. The system is known as the Workmen's Relief Stations.

They are conducted by the local administration, aided by philanthropy. Out-of-work travelers are furnished a lodging, meals, and accommodations free of cost, and also are supplied with shoes and other clothing. The quarters are pleasant, the company respectable, and the atmosphere, both physical and moral, is healthy. The system is so organized as to discourage tramping. The idle vagabond cannot get the Relief Station's traveling passport, and therefore is inferentially proclaimed to be a pest whose proper place is the workhouse. Therefore he makes himself as scarce as possible.

In most of the relief stations efforts are made to find work for such as have no definite prospects before them.

This system of relief stations originated in Germany. It has spread throughout that country and Switzerland. This is a demonstration of its useful character. Of the comparative character of the system in the two countries, Mr. Dawson says: "Though the relief stations of Germany are admirable, those in some of the cantons of Switzerland are understood to take the palm in order of efficiency and success. Eleven of the German-speaking cantons of Switzerland are now united in an 'Intercantonal Union for Relief-In-Kind.'"†

As to the value of the system, Mr. Dawson says:

"The Relief Station system is an incalculable boon to the working classes, and by them is heartily appreciated. At present a determined attempt is being made to supersede private enterprise, where it still exists, by public organization and administration, and this is the inevitable goal of the system in both countries."**

Another assistance to wage earners is Municipal Labor Bureaus. The object is to bring together those who want work and those who desire help. In Berne, Basle, and St. Gall a small fee is charged to the employee and employer. In Geneva the entire cost is a communal charge. The duties of secretary extend to advice to parents as to the best trades in which to apprentice their sons, etc.

There is also Out-of- Work Insurance. In some cases it is of a voluntary character, as in England, but in St. Gall and Basle an experiment has been made with compulsory out-of-work insurance. Another experiment is Labor Colonies. In short, Switzerland, since the attainment of majority rule, has become a laboratory of political experiments. Intelligence is applied, and only those things are continued that are demonstrated to be in line with the doctrine of equal rights and an intelligent altruism. An illustration of the discriminating character of the legislative undertaking is the care of those who become a public charge:

† Social Switzerland, by Dawson, p. 133.
** Same citation, p. 137.

9. *CARE OF DEPENDENTS UNDER GUARDED REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT.*

In Switzerland the dependents who are able to work are placed in an institution where they are compelled to work. The depraved and the lazy good-for nothings are placed by themselves.

Depraved or Lazy.

"The diet of the inmates," we are told, "while betraying no leaning toward luxury, is ample and wholesome, and sufficiently regardful of individual peculiarities of health and constitution. The mental and recreative faculties of the inmates are not neglected. The appearance of the inmates, without exception," continues our informant, "was that of health and contentment."†

The director of one establishment states that "the people come here as a rule miserable and unhealthy, low and wretched, worn out by careless living and bad sustenance; but they soon become new creatures.||

Homes for Aged Poor.

The care of old people and children, however, is on an entirely different plane. At Berne there is an Old People's Home that is supported by the municipality. It originated in a private foundation. When visited by Mr. Davidson of England in 1895 it contained nearly a hundred old men and women of over 60 years of age. He describes them in the following words:

> Whatever may have been the struggle of life which these pensioners have had to fight in the years that are behind them, they have now reached a haven of rest, and what is more, they know it and show it. There is not a sad face in the entire building. The brilliant sunshine which on the morning of my visit filled rooms and corridors, and made them look wondrously gay and cheerful, seemed to typify the moral atmosphere of the place. * * * It was deeply interesting to notice the gladness with which Herr Burki, the poor-law secretary was received. Wherever he appeared he found himself immediately waylaid, stormed, and captured by grateful inmates. Old women would put down their sewing and knitting, old men would forget their pipes and newspapers, and even decrepit octogenarians would hobble forward from their chairs and quiet corners, all anxious to shake his hand and exchange a friendly word, while such as were unable from infirmity to leave their bedrooms bestowed their greetings vicariously. The spontaneous evidence of the esteem and attachment entertained by the municipal poor for the representative of the municipal poor law spoke volumes for the humane and sympathetic manner in which that law is administered in the city of Berne. And when one thinks of it, why should it be otherwise?
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> Work is quite voluntary in the Old People's Refuge. But though no one is compelled to do anything at all, every one is glad enough to have employment of some kind. * * * For those who do not wish to work there are books, magazines, newspapers, and games,

† Social Switzerland, by Dawson, p. 228.
|| Same citation, p. 228.

with tobacco for the men, and for the women those tea-pots for two which stimulate gossip in the known way.*

Dependent Children.

In all but a few cantons the laws are such that no dependent child is placed for even a moment in a poorhouse. They are principally cared for by means of the boarding-out system. In Zurich, for example, so implicitly do the poor law authorities trust the family idea that where there seems a certainty that the child of destitute parents will be properly looked after by those parents, in the event of help being given, they allow them to remain in their natural custody, even though the cost to the town should be greater than with boarding out. Where, however, the home influence and surroundings are morally unwholesome, they are taken from their parents or guardians and placed with foster parents in the country. It is only when the children labor under serious physical or mental defects that they are handed over to special institutions. They are periodically inspected by a public official, as well as by private individuals who do volunteer work.

The education of dependent children is carefully looked after in Zürich. On this point, Mr. Dawson quotes from the poor-law report of Zürich for 1895 and says:

> Such enlightened words are in strange contrast to the niggardly policy pursued often enough by English Boards of Guardians, particularly in rural districts, in the matter of pauper education.†

Till 1895 the dependent children of St. Gall were reared in the workhouse of the canton. In that year legislation was secured providing that henceforth no more children should be admitted. The writer cannot report legislation for subsequent years.

Children's Holiday Colonies are quite numerous in Switzerland. Most of the municipalities subscribe a portion of the requisite funds.**

Yet in some places the entire cost is borne by public taxation. Mr. Davidson, in mentioning the children's holiday colonies in connection with the schools of several of the smaller towns, says:

> One would think that some of these towns, both because of their delectable situation and their comparative smallness, were of themselves fit resorts for those in quest of health. That the philanthropic of their citizens think differently, when youth is concerned, must undeniably be attributed to a rare solicitude for the welfare of the young, and an altogether praiseworthy anxiety that even the poorest scholar shall at least be able to enter upon the battle of life equipped with a sound body as well as a sound education.||

10. PUBLIC OWNERSHIP AND OPERATION OF PUBLIC UTILITIES UNDER GUARDED REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT.

Prof. Jesse Macy, of Iowa College, in his letter from Switzerland in 1896 says: "I have been surprised at the cool and matter-of-fact way in which the Swiss, through their governmental agencies, assume control of industrial operations which Americans regard as belonging to private enterprise. The Swiss were among the first to adopt the government telegraph. This suited them so well that when the telephone had fully demonstrated its usefulness, without any special debate or fuss about the matter, they made the telephone an integral part of the postal-telegraphic system. For about $9 one has the use of a telephone for a year, with connections in all parts of the city and country. They have a parcels post which corresponds to our express business. It cost me 5 cents to send by mail my manuscript on the English Government from one end of Switzerland to the other. For a like service in the United States mail I think I have paid 75 cents. It is only recently that measures have been adopted looking to the government ownership of all the railways of Switzerland, and I have been completely dumbfounded at the apparent lack of interest in the subject. There is no debate, no newspaper discussion. You introduce the subject to an intelligent, patriotic citizen who ought to be profoundly stirred by such a revolutionary measure; and he would show that he was fully aware of the fact that in a few years the government would own the railways, while yet there seemed to him nothing in the event worthy of special remark. The government has recently taken charge of the manufacture and sale of matches. I think the government monopoly of the sale of alcoholic drinks has excited more debate. But the point of interest has been the suppression of drunkenness rather than the industrial effects. There is now a measure before the national legislature for establishing a national bank, and this is causing some newspaper discussion. All these are enterprises of the national government.

"In the cantons and in the cities there are movements of a similar character. Various cantons and communes have in recent years assumed the burden of burying the dead. They give to all, rich and poor, the same sort of a burial, which is simple and expensive. They permit inequalities in life, but are equal in death. The government burial is not usually made compulsory, but our Consul General reports that where it has been adopted it becomes practically universal. * * *

"A few days before I left Geneva the city government voted to build at once twelve tenements to be owned and operated by the city. It was understood that this was only the beginning of an enterprise which admitted of infinite expansion. Yet it excited no more comment than would the announcement of a vote to build a schoolhouse. If the people did not like it they could have demanded the referendum and have stopped it. Yet, so far as I know, no one thought of such a thing.

"From one end of Switzerland to the other there does not seem to be any son of Jay Gould who is ready to stand up and announce in an oracular manner that he believes the interference of the government in their industrial undertaking tends to promote socialism. *There is probably no part of Europe* WHERE THE SOCIALISTS ARE HAVING SO HARD A TIME AS IN SWITZERLAND. * * * The Swiss know that if they wanted to adopt a communistic form of government they could do so at any moment. There are, however, convinced Socialists in Switzerland, and while their doctrines are neither feared nor approved, yet the

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* Social Switzerland, by Dawson, pp. 201, 2, 3.

† Same citation, p. 213.

** Same citation, pp. 236-7.

|| Same citation, p. 239.

socialists themselves are treated with the respect due to ordinary patriotic citizens. They are elected to office and admitted to a share in the government.

*To avoid extinction some of the Swiss socialists have proposed radical changes in the socialistic doctrine and the methods of action."**

This tendency of the people to approve government ownership of monopolies and such other functions as experience demonstrates to be practicable, has been foreseen by conservative economists like President Hadley of Yale University:—

A Conservative American's View of Public Ownership and Operation of Monopolies.

In an article in Scribner's Magazine for November 1899, President Hadley speaks of the privately owned industrial monopolies in this country as being ultimately limited in their dividends to "*less than four per cent.*," and in another place in the article he asks:

Will such monopolies be long allowed to remain in the hands of private corporations at all? Is it not rather true that this consolidation is a step in the direction of state ownership of industrial enterprise? Is not a grave crisis at hand in which there will be a decisive struggle between the forces of individualism and socialism, of property and of numbers?

He answers this by saying:

It is *quite within the limits of possibility that* many of these enterprises will pass into government ownership in the *immediate future;* BUT IT IS HIGHLY IMPROBABLE THAT THIS TENDENCY TOWARD CONSOLIDATION IS INCREASING THE DANGERS OF A CONFLICT BETWEEN INDIVIDUALISTS AND SOCIALISTS. Its net effect is to *diminish these dangers* BY MAKING THE QUESTION OF STATE OWNERSHIP RELATIVELY UNIMPORTANT TO THE PUBLIC AS A WHOLE. This may seem like a surprising statement, but there are a great many facts to justify it. There has been of late years, in connection with these movements toward consolidation, AN APPROXIMATION IN CHARACTER BETWEEN PRIVATE AND PUBLIC BUSINESS. Formerly the two were sharply distinguished; to-day their methods are much closer to one another. Private business can *do little more than pay interest on the capital involved, because of the increased intensity of modern competition.* Public business can do *no less than pay interest* on the capital involved, because of the increased vigilance of the taxpayers; for the taxpayers will not tolerate a deficit which increases their burdens. But obviously the position of a consumer toward a private business which pays less than four per cent. is not likely to be very different from his position toward a public business which pays more than three. *The distinction from the financial standpoint is thus reduced to a minimum; nor is it much greater, if we look at the matter from the operating standpoint.* The officers of a large private corporation *have almost ceased to come into direct contact with the stock holders;* and to a nearly equal degree our public administrative officials who actually do the work have ceased to come in contact with the voters. *The private officer no longer seeks simply to please the individual group of investors;* the public official no longer strives simply to please the individual group of politicians. The man who does so is in either case charged, and rightly charged, with misunderstanding the duties of his office. *The more completely the principles of civil service reform are carried out, the closer does the similarity become.* The responsibility of public and private officials alike leads them to *the exercise of technical skill and sound general principles of business policy,* rather than to the help of individual private interests. *Under these circumstances, the character of good public business and good private business becomes* SO NEARLY ALIKE THAT IT MAKES COMPARATIVELY LITTLE DIFFERENCE TO MOST OF US WHETHER AN ENTERPRISE IS CONDUCTED BY OUR VOTERS OR BY OUR FINANCIERS. The one question to ask is, Which met od produces in any case the fewer specific abuses? We may look with confidence to the time when the question of state ownership of industrial enterprises *will cease to be a broad popular issue, and become a business question;* which economic considerations may perhaps lead society to decide in favor of public control at on point and private control at some closely related point will depend upon circumstances. • • • The question of state ownership of industrial enterprises, instead of becoming an acute national issue, as so many now expect, *will tend rather to become relatively unimportant, and may not improbably be removed altogether from the field of party politics.*

Such are the views of President Hadley of Yale University, who is noted for his conservatism.

11. DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH UNDER ENLIGHTENED MAJORITY RULE.

Reviewing the foregoing section the following facts appear:

1. The people's rule results in the termination of private monopoly charges. In other words, the excessive charges are terminated—taxation for private purposes is stopped. Stated in another way, the monopolists are stripped of legal privileges. In this way the monopolists in foreign lands are kept from "bleeding" the country, as also are the home-brand.

2. The monopolists no longer distribute wealth for political purposes.

3. The wealth which the monopolists stacked up before the people's rule began in Switzerland is taxed in various ways. For example, a progressive inheritance tax law is levied, which tends to prevent the transmission of large fortunes to children. A progressive income tax restores to the people themselves a portion of the plunder which the monopolists secured through private taxation.

4. The Swiss system of taxation also prescribes that each individual shall contribute to the social welfare *in proportion to his ability.* In all countries this is recognized as morally right, and it applies to the services of the citizen *in all his relations to society:* (a) In case of war, society may draft him and send him to the front, where he runs the risk of being shot and killed; (b) in times of peace it is his duty to serve the public in such capacity as he is best fitted, in some cases, to quit a private position for public office, even though the financial return is but a small proportion of what the income would be in private life, and in which position there is no cartooning in the public press—all this in place of a life of leisure and culture; (c) those engaged in acquiring wealth should be taxed thereon in proportion to their ability.

These principles are fairly well applied in all

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* American Journal of Sociology for 1896 published by University of Chicago, pp. 37-40.

the relations of life in Switzerland. The heads of the several departments in federal affairs "are obliged to live like modest citizens, with no distinctions of residence, guards or equipage. But the honor attached to the office and the reasonable security of tenure have been sufficient to draw out an eminently respectable class of men who have served their country well."*

Every male citizen is trained in arms from the time he is ten years of age, yet there is no standing army. Those who from physical defect or for other reason are exempted from military duty, pay a heavy tax, the maximum of which is $600 per year, with a right in the government to double the sum while war lasts.

In the matter of progressive taxation for public purposes, "it has met with the approval of the people wherever adopted, and is gradually gaining wider acceptance." In this way the contribution to the public purse is in proportion to ability and opportunity.

The whole question of public duty under majority rule was summed up in 1748 by Montesquieu in The Spirit of Laws in these words:

* Government in Switzerland, by Vincent, p. 219.

The love of equality in a democracy limits ambition to the sole desire, to the sole happiness, of doing greater service to our country than the rest of our fellow-citizens. They cannot all render her equal services, but they all ought to serve her with equal alacrity. At our coming into the world, we contract an immense debt to our country, which we can never discharge.

The cause of abundant funds for public purposes under majority rule is thus described in The Spirit of Laws:

The love of frugality limits the desire of having to the study of procuring necessaries to our family, *and superfluities to our country.* Riches give a power which a citizen cannot use for himself, for then he would be no longer equal. They likewise procure pleasures which they ought not to enjoy, because these also would be repugnant to equality.

Thus well-regulated democracies, by establishing domestic frugality, *made way at the same time for public expenses,* as was the case at Rome and Athens, *when magnificence and profusion arose from the very fund of frugality.* And as religion commands us to have pure and unspotted hands when we make ur offerings to the gods, the laws should require a frugality of life to enable us to be liberal to our country.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS AS TO SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT AND LEGISLATION UNDER PEOPLE'S SOVEREIGNTY IN SWITZERLAND.

In Prof. Lowell's book, Governments and Parties in Continental Europe, the summary as to the results that have flowed from the people's sovereignty in Switzerland is as follows:

The Swiss Confederation is, on the whole, the most successful democracy in the world. [It is the only democracy in the world, for in no other country is there a people's veto and direct initiative.] Unlike almost every other state in Europe, it has no irreconcilables,—the only persons in its territory who could, in any sense, be classed under that name being a mere handful of anarchists, and these, as in our own land, are foreigners. The people are contented. The government is patriotic, far-sighted, efficient and economical, steady in its policy, not changing its course with party fluctuations. Corruption in public life is almost unknown, and appointments to office are not made for political purposes by the federal authorities, or by those of most of the cantons. Officials are selected on their merits, and retained as long as they can do the work; And yet the evils of a bureaucracy scarcely exist.

Turning and reviewing the presentation in the preceding chapters, it is clear that the people's sovereignty in Switzerland is Conservatively Progressive. The people do not change a law until they are practically certain that the departure from the existing order of things will be no experiment. This is an element of strength. It prevents erroneous steps.

Reviewing the Swiss system as a whole—that is, "something absolutely new on the face of the earth," as Prof. Macy says, it is seen that it is a system whereby the highest character of public service is secured, while the facts and principles as to social development are carefully worked out and applied by experts, thus insuring a progressive development, the height of which will be limited only by the development of science. What these developments will be cannot be foretold nor even imagined, for the unfoldment of science and of human faculties will make possible that of which we of to-day have never dreamed.

BOOK III.
PROBABLE FUTURE OF CIVILIZATION IN UNITED STATES.

CHAPTER XXI.

FORECAST BY WORTHY MASTER HILL OF PENNSYLVANIA STATE GRANGE, PRESIDENT GOMPERS AND BY WRITER—SOCIALIST PARTY THEORIES CONTRASTED.

Turning to the United States and bearing in mind the steady development of the referendum in this country during the past hundred and thirty years, and the immutable laws of social evolution, it is clear that the people are to become the sovereign power. Evolution is toward the people's sovereignty, therefore it is assured.

The change from the rule of the few to democracy and republicanism will be in America, as in Switzerland, the greatest change that the world has ever experienced, for ever since the loss of majority rule in the early Teutonic states some 1100 years ago there has existed the rule of the few, the proportion changing somewhat but in no wise abrogating all the special privileges. To-day we are on the threshold of the establishment of the people's sovereignty in the United States, which unerringly tends to abolish all legal privileges. The tendency is to equal rights and it extends to all the relations of life, which may be classified as a tendency to equality in health, wealth, knowledge, sociability, beauty and righteousness.

In this progress all classes are benefited for none are pulled down but all tend to higher and higher levels, the results of which during the coming millions upon millions of years no one can imagine. An effective brotherhood of man is at hand and is to be developed. Certain it is that it will include a highly developed world-state, which means a cessation of military and naval wars, and competition for private gain will gradually be supplanted by competition for the public good. Political liberty will result in economic liberty. How far the unification of industry will extend no one can foretell.

This tendency to a higher order of life, which flows from the establishment of the people's sovereignty, is being seen on all sides. The following statement is by Worthy Master Hill of the Pennsylvania State Grange, who is editor, also, of this periodical:

STATEMENT BY WORTHY MASTER HILL.

"From a desire to promote the greatest good for the greatest number the State Grange of Pennsylvania lends its influence for the establishment of the advisory referendum and advisory initiative in national affairs. It is Grange doctrine that there should be justly distributed burdens and justly distributed power. We have repeatedly asked that inequalities be righted, but in recent years the monopolists have been all-powerful. So long as this continues they wield it to the disadvantage of the great majority of the people. The time has come when, through the combined efforts of organized farmers, wage-earners and business men, the people's right to a direct vote can be installed thereby terminating the monopolists' power. With the advisory initiative and advisory referendum in operation we can soon elect United States senators by direct vote; postal savings banks can be established; railway rates can be equitably adjusted; the parcels post can be enlarged and extended; the friction between wage-earners and employers can largely be allayed; the burdens of taxation can be equalized; etc., etc.

"The voters' direct ballot upon questions of national concern will cause a new sense of responsibility which will help them to arrive at right conclusions. All the people cannot be fooled all the time hence the present great awakening. It is an omen of a brighter future and the Grange speeds the movement, hoping for an early realization."

A leading representative of organized wage-earners has also outlined some of the results of the advisory initiative and referendum.

Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, in an extra number of the official magazine, issued the 15th of last month (July, 1904), says:

Statement by President Gompers.

"All classes, as we have said, will be benefited by the establishment of the people's sovereignty, which operates through guarded representative government. Something as to what the future under the system will be in the United States can be foretold in a broad way. Certain it is that the people's self-interest will cause the removal of excessive rates on the railroads and for other monopoly services, and all discriminations between shippers and other users of monopoly services will be terminated.

"And the labor question in these monopolized industries will assume an entirely different phase, for as rapidly as public ownership of the transportation monopolies is entered upon there will be no strikes or lockouts in these monopolies, and during the transition to public ownership of the transportation systems there is pretty sure to be an equally satisfactory solution of the wage question. It is inconceivable that the people will sanction anything short of an equitable system as between the great transportation monopolies and the men and women who operate the system.

"In the monopolies of raw materials, such as coal beds and iron ore beds, the people will terminate the private monopoly feature, which will mean public ownership or a return to competitive conditions. In either case there will be a decided gain to the wage-earners in these industries and to all consumers of coal and iron and their products.

"With the establishment of equal rights in transportation and to raw materials there will be a restoration of competitive prices, actual or potential in all lines of manufacture and trade, thereby terminating monopoly prices in the industrial trusts and protecting the interests of all the people.

"Such will be the immediate results that will flow from the establishment of the people's sovereignty and the enactment of legislation. Whether or not the tendency to monopoly will continue can not be foretold, but we are sure that the system of enlightened majority rule through guarded representative government will adequately care for the public interests.

"Returning to the details of the proposed system for the advisory initiative it should be specially noted that it applies only to eleven topics, excluding the tariff question and all other questions upon which there is a divided opinion.

"Of these eleven topics to which the advisory initiative is applicable, part of the topics authorize the submission of constitutional amendments for the direct nomination and election of United States senators, congressmen, president, and vice-president, and the installation of the usual form of the optional referendum and direct initiative, also proportional representation. The other topics are the burning questions of the day, thus opening the way for the immediate use of the direct initiative as to criminal interstate trusts, government by injunction and other pernicious evils.

"In all this there is a unity of interests. All the producers and consumers are interested and should exert their every effort to attain the fullest liberty and the highest civilization. No individual is to blame for existing conditions, for it is the system—the rule of the few. But all *will* be to blame if the system is not changed, now that a safe and evolutionary path is pointed out. Evolution is a law of nature and the minds of men must select the peaceful paths of progress."

The above is on such broad lines that it would seem that every thinking person must agree. All must admit that the people's self-interest is against monopoly prices and discriminating rates. Admit this and all else follows: The open question is said to be,

Will the tendency to monopoly continue?

On this point no one can prophesy with anything like certainty, for so many new factors are involved. But President Gompers well says:

Whether or not the tendency to monopoly will continue can not be foretold, *but we are sure that the system of enlightened majority rule through guarded representative government will adequately care for the public interests.*

Bear in mind that "guarded representative government" means a vast improvement in the institutions for ascertaining and applying social truths. In this system *the final judgment as to each measure will be the enlightened will of the people, whose verdict must invariably be for Personal Liberty and Private Property* TO THE UTMOST DEGREE PRACTICABLE, as is demonstrated in Switzerland. The Socialist party of America, in so far as it has copied from German ideals as to the future of society, must change its program, *as it has done in Switzerland.* Says Professor Jesse Macy of Iowa College in a letter from Switzerland to his students in 1896:

There is probably no part of Europe where the Socialists are having so hard a time as in Switzerland. * * * *To avoid extinction some of the Swiss socialists have proposed radical changes in the socialistic doctrine and the methods of action.*

The reason why the German ideal as to the future of society is erroneous is *because the German theorists have never experienced political liberty* AND THEREFORE CANNOT FORECAST THE CONDITIONS IN A STATE WHERE POLITICAL LIBERTY EXISTS. In so far, therefore, as the Swiss *actualities* differ from the German Socialists' *ideal,* it is clear that the Germans are in error.

Like Causes Produce Like Effects.

In the foregoing it has been taken for granted that the establishment of the people's sovereignty in the United States will produce the same *general* results as has the people's sovereignty in Switzerland. In other words, it is assumed that *like causes will produce like effects.* Self-interest will operate in the United States the same as it has operated in Switzerland. This is as true as is the law of gravitation.

The differences in conditions which will result in different laws are fundamental differences, such as the love of music or of scenery and differences in the habits of life, but even these will change gradually under the change of environment that will result from changes in the law, due to the establishment of the people's sovereignty.

In both countries self-interest demands the termination of legal privileges. And the Americans will demand, as have the Swiss, that the laws for the collection of public taxes be re-adjusted.

From this affirmative statement of the case let us consider what the objectors have to say.

CHAPTER XXII.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SWITZERLAND AND AMERICA DEBATED.

I. Prof. Lowell's Objections to Completion of People's Sovereignty in the United States.

Professor A. Lawrence Lowell of Harvard University, in the concluding paragraphs of his two-volume work, "Governments and Parties in Continental Europe," describes the unquestioned eminence of the Swiss government, page 60, above, and continues:

All this bears witness to the capacity of the Swiss for self-government, and to the integrity and statesmanship of their rulers. But it must be remembered that Switzerland is free from many of the difficulties that perplex other nations.

The country is small, and experience proves that the larger the population the harder is the problem of free government.

The Swiss, moreover, furnish in their social condition the very best material for democracy. Wealth is comparatively evenly distributed. There are no great manufacturing centers with their army of operatives; no huge cities with their seething proletariat, and their burden of ignorance, poverty and vice.

There is no long line of immigrants, unused to the laws and customs of the land, to be trained and assimilated.

There are no vast territories to be subdued, no mines or other great natural resources to be developed, and hence no immense mass of eager restless capital, always taking some new shape and presenting some new question.

The people are also decidedly stationary, not perpetually moving about from one part of the country to another, and rising and falling in the social scale.

Bagehot once said that the men of Massachusetts could work any constitution, and this may be repeated of the Swiss. The reason in each case is the same, for Switzerland is to-day in the same state that New England was in formerly. The social conditions are tolerably equal, the minimum level of education high, and political experience abundant. The Swiss statesmen deserve the highest praise for their labors, and the greatest admiration for their success, *but we must beware of thinking that their methods would produce the same effects under different conditions.* The problem they have had to solve is that of self-government among a small, stable and frugal people, and this is far simpler than self-government in a great, rich and ambitious nation.

These are the concluding words in Prof. Lowell's book. He states the case as strongly against the Referendum System as is possible. But to each of the objections there is a valid answer:—

II. Answers To Objections—Fallacies Exposed.

THE ISSUE IS OBSCURED.

The first point to be noted in considering the objections which Professor Lowell advances, is that the issue is obscured. He nowhere states the question at issue, namely, Is it preferable for the people to continue the rule of the few through the party machine, which results in private monopolies, imperialism, militarism, graft and the other evils of machine rule; or should the people take to themselves a veto power and a direct initiative, a system of government in which their sovereignty is effectually guarded and which terminates machine rule and all its evils?

As between these two alternatives the people will experience no difficulty in deciding.

But let us reply specifically to the objections urged by Professor Lowell.

AMERICANS A HIGHLY DEVELOPED PEOPLE.

Prof. Lowell impliedly states that the American people are less capable of self-government than the Swiss. That is not the issue. The question is, Shall machine rule be continued in the United States or shall it be terminated by the establishment of a people's veto and direct initiative?

Before going into this question let me say that it is probable that our people are as highly developed as the Swiss. The Swiss attained their sovereignty ahead of us *because of a difference in the system of government.* Theirs had no executive veto and no judiciary veto. This caused them to apply the people's veto without experimenting with an executive veto and a judiciary veto, as we have. Turning to our own history we find that our people were the first in the world to vote directly on the adoption of a state constitution. This was in 1778, over a hundred years ago in Massachusetts.

This system of voting on state constitutions spread steadily to other states: to New Hampshire the next year, to Kentucky in 1799, to Mississippi in 1817, to Connecticut the next year, to New York the fourth year, and to Virginia in 1830. Not until this time, 1830, did the Swiss secure a direct vote on the constitutions of the cantons.

In the United States we went steadily forward and the people in every state in the Union except Delaware have voted upon the adoption of a state constitution—the most important of all the state laws.

Through the constitutional convention followed by referendum vote, the people have taken to themselves a veto power on the more important of the legislative questions in the states and thus stopped the repudiation of state debts (page 35 above), put an end to wild-cat banking in the states (page 35, above) and they effectually curbed the extortions of the railway monopolies within the state (page 35, above).

But the railway question has become interstate and when the people make up their minds to extend the direct vote to the interstate questions they will control the interstate railways and other interstate monopolies. No new principle is involved, except that the direct initiative should be adopted (an essential element in the people's sovereignty). This direct initiative is more conservative than party government, whether controlled by the trusts or by the leaders of a radical party, as is demonstrated in the following paragraphs.

DIRECT INITIATIVE MORE CONSERVATIVE THAN TRUSTOCRACY.

The adoption of the direct initiative as to the interstate railway problem will be much more conservative than to go forward under the prevailing system—the rule of the trusts, for the suppression of competition is a new thing in the world, *and to continue the trust development in the hands of the few is the most radical step that can be taken.* THE PEOPLE KNOW THAT THIS IS SO AND WILL NOT PERMIT IT IF THEY CAN STOP IT. THEY CAN STOP IT, AND ALMOST IMMEDIATELY, BY QUESTIONING LEGISLATIVE CANDIDATES AS TO THE IMMEDIATE INSTALLATION OF THE ADVISORY INITIATIVE AND ADVISORY REFERENDUM. THIS QUESTIONING SYSTEM IS BEING APPLIED, as we shall point out in Book VI.

DIRECT INITIATIVE MORE CONSERVATIVE THAN A RADICAL PARTY MACHINE.

And bear this in mind: To go forward under party government *would eventually mean the triumph of a Radical party machine* WHICH WOULD PROBABLY RESULT IN CIVIL WAR AND WIDE-SPREAD CONFISCATION. We ran into civil war in 1861 when the question was far less difficult than the one before us to-day, and we were forced to the brink of civil war in 1876, also in 1884, again in 1896, and civil war actually exists in Colorado to-day and has for many months. In Colorado the trusts have openly repudiated the people's sovereignty, having induced the legislature to refuse to put into operation a constitutional amendment regularly submitted by a preceding legislature and adopted by the people. And in Utah two legislatures have likewise repudiated the people's sovereignty. In Illinois one legislature has refused to carry out the people's instructions to submit a constitutional amendment. Either civil war will eventually spread from Colorado to other states and to the nation at large or the referendum will be adopted. Only these two courses are possible.

Analysis shows just *why* the Referendum System is more conservative than a Radical party:

ANALYTICAL PROOF AS TO CONSERVATIVE QUALITIES OF DIRECT INITIATIVE.

1. The use of the Referendum System will at once cut off the excessive and unequal monopoly charges, such as discriminating railroad rates and discriminating charges for raw materials such as iron ore and coal, *thus restoring competitive prices in the steel industry and all other lines of manufacturing and distribution, but it will be a mere easing up and not a cessation of the tendency to monopoly; and*

2. *There will be no confiscation of property but taxation will be re-adjusted.*

These conservative results will come because of the admirable character of the Referendum System. The proposed laws will *not* come through a platform framed in a national convention *and go at once before the people for final action*, but carefully framed bills will be proposed to congress through the direct initiative, and congress may consider the case for a full year, taking testimony and framing a competing measure or measures, and then the case will go to the people through a referendum ballot*—*a far more conservative system than voting for an entire party platform to be carried out by a few radical leaders.*

The Referendum System, therefore, is much more conservative than a radical party. History as well as analysis demonstrates that this is so:

HISTORICAL PROOF.

We have the history of the direct initiative in the cities of Iowa and South Dakota, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and other municipalities, also the history of the direct initiative in state affairs in Oregon and South Dakota and in Switzerland, also in federal affairs in Switzerland, the details of which have been outlined in the preceding chapters. The conservative character of guarded representative government is recognized wherever it is installed. No one would think of going back to the rule of the few with its demagogy, corruption, poverty, illiteracy, child labor and other evils. In the words of Prof. Frank Parsons:

> I was recently in Switzerland for several weeks, visiting nearly all the most important cities and talking with men of every class—heads of government departments, presidents of cities, college professors, hotel proprietors, secretaries of chambers of commerce, lawyers, doctors, editors, business men and workingmen of every description—*and I did not find one man who wishes to go back to the old plan of final legislation by elected delegates without chance of appeal to the people.*

The fact that the people are actually more conservative than the radical leaders was testified to in 1884 in the following words by M. Zemp, a noted Swiss conservative.

> Ten years ago we watched the introduction of the referendum into the constitution with considerable anxiety, but to-day our fears have been dissipated. As federalists we were in doubt in 1874 as to the result of the exclusion of the vote by cantons. We were all laboring under a wrong impression at that time. *We have been taught by experience that the Swiss people are distinctly more conservative than their representatives* [in the Radical party.]

To the same effect is the statement of the eminently conservative professor of social science in Columbia University in New York, Dr. John B. Clark, who says:

> The referendum is bound to come *or more and worse mischief than we have thus far experienced will come.*

Says Prof. John R. Commons in concluding a careful review of the people's sovereignty in Switzerland:

> Direct legislation in Switzerland has abundantly shown that the people are safer than their rulers. *Extremists have no hope in them. They vote down the*

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* Jefferson said: "The instability of our laws is really a very serious inconvenience. I think that we ought to have obviated it by deciding that *a whole year should always be allowed to elapse between the bringing in of a bill and the final passing of it.* It should afterwards be discussed and put to the vote without the possibility of making any alteration in it; and if the circumstances of the case required a more speedy decision, the question should not be decided by a simple majority, but by a majority of at least two-thirds of both houses." (Quoted in Democracy in America, by De Tocqueville, Vol. I, p. 262).

bills of both reactionaries and radicals. This is true not merely in the country districts but also in the cities, where the unpropertied working classes are supposed to show disregard of property rights. Direct legislation gives voice and influence to the great mass of home-loving, peaceable, industrious people, who make little agitation and who are not heard in the ordinary clamor of politics. Such people are fair-minded and love justice. They want only what they earn, but they want it themselves. They are the bulwark of democracy. They cannot be crowded or dazed. They wait until th y understand. Yet in the long run, at the second or third voting, it is found that they are ready to accept progressive measures. *They voted down government railroads twice, partly because of the exorbitant price the legislature agreed to pay to the private owners;* but finally, when the question reached the stage where it excited almost no discussion, they voted in its favor by a large majority. So with other measures. Says M. Stussi, in his notable account of direct legislation in the city of Zurich: "All laws useful to the canton have been accepted, even those which demanded considerable money sacrifices from the people. No law which would really have advanced either moral or material progress has been definitely laid aside. In those rare cases which seem to contradict this conclusion, the referendum has simply displayed its inherent *ultra-conservative character and delayed an advance which would seem to most to be too rapid."*

SUMMARY.

Summarizing the points thus far considered it appears that Professor Lowell obscures the issue. The issue is, Shall the trusts rule or shall the people assert their sovereignty through guarded representative government? When thus stated there is no question as to what the people's decision will be.

Replying to specific objections, Prof. Lowell's statement that the Americans are not so well fitted for self-government as the Swiss, is not the issue. The question is, Which is preferable, our system of party government (machine rule) or guarded representative government? The Swiss, however, are *not* more highly developed than the American people, the difference in appearance being due to a difference in the system of government.

Turning to a consideration of the actual effect should our people establish their sovereignty, it has been shown that it would be conservative as compared with the mighty change which the rule of the trusts has brought about and is rapidly extending; and on the other hand the people's sovereignty would be much more conservative than the triumph of a radical party machine, which must eventually come into power if the people do not establish a right to a direct vote. Of the conservative nature of guarded representative government we are not left to mere theory but point to highly successful results in Iowa, South Dakota, Oregon, San Francisco and in Switzerland. No one who has experienced the change would for a moment consent to go back to the rule of the few with its private monopolies, corruption, poverty, illiteracy, child labor and other evils.

LARGE AREA OF UNITED STATES.

But, says Professor Lowell and other objectors to the establishment of self-government in the people, The area of the United States is too great for the successful working of the Referendum System!

We reply, Not so, for the people are already voting on national issues. The only change in the election machinery will be that the election judges will hand to the voters a referendum ballot in addition to the ballot containing the names of candidates. Iowa, South Dakota and Oregon already have provisions for the referendum ballot at every election. It is thoroughly practicable, and for several reasons: The people's decision as to legislative agents is separated from their decision as to questions of public policy, the vote on public questions being direct whenever 5 or 8 per cent. of the voters desire that a question or questions shall be submitted.

In this way the several issues before the country are separated, for the people can accept one and reject another, whereas under the party platform system the entire program of a party must be accepted or rejected.

But the people vote on few measures, as has been said, and these referendum votings are at the regular election. No special elections need be held. No extra expense need be involved. In fact, there is a great saving in election expenses, for in place of the present hurrah for candidates and the expenditure of millions of monopoly funds—in place of this, there will be no monopoly funds in the election contests and these contests will be dignified and manly, for none of the great issues will be decided by the election of men to office.

It is clear, then, that the large area of the country is no obstacle to the establishment of the people's sovereignty and the termination of trust rule. The only objectors are the trusts themselves and the people whom they are deceiving.

CONCENTRATION OF WEALTH.

"Wealth is comparatively evenly distributed in Switzerland," says Prof. Lowell. True. But this desirable condition in Switzerland has resulted *from* the people's sovereignty, as is pointed out in preceding sections. *If the United States is to cease its tendency to centralization of wealth, it must turn from the rule of the few by installing the people's sovereignty.* This is a self-evident proposition.

MANUFACTURING CENTERS — IGNORANCE, POVERTY AND VICE.

Our "great manufacturing centers, with their army of operatives" is another of Professor Lowel's objections to the establishment of the people's sovereignty. This of itself is not a well-grounded objection to the referendum. But the ignorance, poverty and vice which he mentions AND WHICH HAVE INCREASED, *will be checked by establishing the Referendum System.* And to check this ignorance, poverty and vice is just what we should aim at. The Referendum System does it by increasing the school facilities, installing compulsory education and stopping child labor, and stopping also the inflow of illiterate immigrants. In other words, the Referendum System is needed to *prevent* the increase of ignorance and vice just as it is needed to stop the centralization of wealth.

Furthermore, the ignorance and vice in cities will not interfere with the workings of the Referendum System; as is demonstrated by practical experience. There is no vote-purchasing in Ref-

erendum elections as to street railways and other great questions. (See the history of Referendum votings in San Francisco, Chicago, and New York State—the enlargement of the Erie canal), and this absence of vote-purchasing results in the self-disfranchisement of the ignorant and careless voters. But more than all is the fact that the representatives of the people represent the people's interests. The Referendum, then, is the cure for the ignorance and vice in this country, for our people as a whole stand high in intelligence. Our public school system and religious liberty long since resulted in our voting upon public questions. Now we want our votes to become effective. We want to terminate the rule of the trust magnates. And evolution is working toward their overthrow as inevitably as gravitation brings down the apple.

NEWLY-ARRIVED IMMIGRANTS.

Prof. Lowell points to our newly-arrived immigrants, but he fails to point out the increasing illiteracy of immigrants due to action of the steamship trust and railroad trust. *They have prevented the enactment of an educational qualification for immigrants.* The establishment of the Referendum would result in a statute for an educational qualification. No one can successfully dispute this. Furthermore, the evil effects of the ignorance of the illiterate immigrants who are here will be minimized when we establish the Referendum System.

CHIEF FALLACY EXPOSED.

In conclusion, bear in mind that Switzerland used to have corruption and a tendency to centralization of wealth until the people established their sovereignty, since which time the magnificent changes have been wrought. We must not let these favorable results of the people's sovereignty be used as a successful argument against the establishment of the system. On this point Prof. John R. Commons says:

"Some of the explanations offered to account for the success of the Referendum in Switzerland show a curious reversal of cause and effect. They seem to imply that the Swiss people dropped into the initiative and referendum through the possession of some unexplained hereditary instinct, just as an insect flies to its proper food without being taught. It is said that the Referendum is successful in Switzerland while it would not be so in England and America, because the Swiss have no hard-and-fast 'parties'; because they have greater respect for one another's opinions; because they do not have wide extremes of wealth; because they do not vote against legislators for re-election even though they vote against the laws of these same legislators at the Referendum; because they are a quiet, peaceable, home-staying folk, etc. It is true that these qualities accompany the successful use of the Referendum; *but they are its fruits, not its soil. They are results, not its causes.* The Swiss were at one time the mercenary soldiers of European kings and dukes, and they brought to their homes the low morals and turbulence of such a life. Yet it is agreed that, in the cantons that formerly were noted for violence and bloodshed, there has been a marked decline in homicide and other forms of crime since the introduction of the Referendum."*

* The Arena, December, 1899.

In the article from which we have quoted Prof. Commons further said:

EVIL CONDITIONS IN SWITZERLAND WHICH RESULTED IN ESTABLISHMENT OF PEOPLE'S VETO AND DIRECT INITIATIVE.

"The Swiss people are free from the corrupting extremes of wealth and poverty because the Referendum headed off the encroachments of boodlers, bribers, and monopolists, and all kinds of special legislation by which so many American fortunes have been created. *Prior to the adoption of the Referendum Switzerland was going through an era of political villainy quite similar to that which the American people know so well. In fact,* SWISS POLITICS FROM 1830 TO 1860 READS QUITE LIKE A CHAPTER IN CURRENT AMERICA. It was no abstract philosophy nor democratic instinct that brought the Referendum. The people were driven to it as the only certain means of expelling corrupt wealth from politics. The alliance between the private corporations—the railways and the banks—that furnished the funds and the politicians who manipulated the people was exactly that to which Americans are now slowly opening their eyes. *No matter which of the two parties elected its candidates, the result was the same.* Election promises were violated—the people were sold out. Franchises were granted, subsidies and tax exemptions were bestowed, and extremes of wealth and poverty were forced upon the people by law, simply because the lawmakers were absolute. They voted these special privileges; they received their share and their perquisites from the boodlers; they were building up political machines and controlling elections with these funds taken from the people, and there was no restraint. *The Referendum was the remedy. The canton of Vaud adopted it immediately following an especially exasperating grant of subsidy to a railroad corporation. Other cantons followed. The movement is likened by Deploige* TO A PERFECT WAVE OF DEMOCRACY SWEEPING OVER THE COUNTRY. The remedy was complete. Switzerland was rescued from the evils that now threaten the life of other democracies. No longer could lawmakers sell out the people; they could no longer 'deliver the goods'. The people themselves must ratify the sale. The Referendum was the people's vote."

In America this Referendum System is later in coming than in Switzerland, for we have an executive veto and judiciary veto, which never existed in Switzerland. And we have found out that the use of this executive veto and judiciary veto has infected these branches of the government with the legislature's vices. It is only by installing a people's veto and direct initiative that corruption and special privileges are weeded out and that effective administration and legislation steps in.

SUMMARY OF ANSWER TO OBJECTIONS.

Summarizing the foregoing answers to objections to the establishment of sovereignty by the people of the United States, it is demonstrated by indisputable evidence that the Americans are warranted in asserting their sovereignty as against the rule of the monopolists through the party machines.

The large area of the country is no objection for the people are already voting on national issues, the only change in the election machinery will be that the election judges will hand to the voters a Referendum Ballot in addition to the ballot containing the names of the candidates. This system is in successful operation in Iowa, South Dakota and Oregon and can be extended.

These facts demonstrate that the people of the United States are warranted in taking from the monopolists the powers of sovereignty. The objection against this course, that there is a much greater concentration of wealth in the United States than in Switzerland, is an argument *for* the establishment of the people's sovereignty, for it will put a stop to concentration and tend to decentralization.

And the objection that we have great manufacturing centers with ignorance, poverty and vice, is also an argument for the termination of machine rule with its invasion of taxes and inferior school facilities. Furthermore, the illiteracy among newly-arrived immigrants is due to the monopolists, for it is they who have prevented the establishment of an educational test for admission to the privileges of American citizenship.

In short, every argument urged against the sovereignty of the people of the United States is bristling with fallacies. The Swiss are highly advanced because they have experienced the benefits of the improved system of government. Let us install the system by abolishing machine rule and we, too, will have better schools, the robbery of the monopolists will be terminated and all our people will go to a higher and better civilization. The urgent need for terminating the robbery of the trusts is conclusive reason for the establishment of the people's sovereignty. But other reasons exist, for example, the monopolists' refusal to arbitrate wage differences, which may bring about another coal famine, also another famine in dressed meats, and may tie up all the transportation lines. Furthermore, the monopolists have abolished trial by jury in certain cases, and have prevented a review of facts by higher courts. They are openly repudiating popular government in Colorado, Utah and Illinois, a condition that will become national if existing tendencies to centralization are continued long enough. The only way to abolish these evils is to transfer the sovereign power from the party organization—the party machine, to the people. It is in the line of evolution and therefore is right and will surely come. Our opponents have not shown the contrary and cannot. We have proved our case by the best of evidence, which our opponents have not shaken. Professor Lowell has not touched the real issue which is Shall the people submit to the rule of the trusts or establish their own sovereignty? And where Professor Lowell has presented an objection he has not argued it. For example, he suggests that the area of the country is too great for a direct vote on national questions, but does not attempt to prove it. He suggests that our people are too inferior to make a good use of self-government, but does not attempt to prove it. He points to our manufacturing centers, but does not attempt to prove that the Referendum therein would be harmful, and he cannot prove it for the facts are the exact opposite: the people of San Francisco have demonstrated by actual experience that the Direct Initiative and Referendum promote the general welfare.

It is clear that there are no valid objections to the establishment of the people's sovereignty and the overthrow of the rule of the few.

CHAPTER XXIII.

RESULTS OF REFERENDUM SYSTEM ON PARTY ORGANIZATION.

We have yet to consider the future of political parties in the United States after the transfer of final power from the party machine to the people. In order to forecast the condition we must present a description of the change that has taken place in the Swiss party system. Says Professor Lowell, in his chapters on Switzerland in "Government and Parties in Continental Europe":

Since 1874 [the date of the adoption of the optional referendum in federal affairs in Switzerland] *the course of politics has been smoother, and the condition of the parties has been far more steady.*"

Although parties have never ceased to exist in Switzerland [since 1874] *the government of the confederation* IS NOT IN ANY TRUE SENSE A GOVERNMENT BY A PARTY. * * * The parties are collections of individuals who look at public matters from the same standpoint, rather than as political organizations. * * * There are in the confederation no national committees, no elaborate system of primary caucuses and general conventions. The Clericals and Radicals do occasionally hold congresses, but these are simply intended to prevent disruption by discussing the questions of the day, and thus preserving a certain harmony of views, and they take no part in the nomination of candidates for office. A few political associations exist also, of which the most famous is the Grutliverein, composed of workingmen, and advocating advanced opinions. But although these societies sometimes exert a good deal of influence at elections, and still more at federal referenda, *they rarely try to run candidates of their own and are not really party organizations.* They correspond, in fact, more nearly to our reform clubs, temperance associations, and labor organizations, than to our political parties. The candidates for the National Council are, indeed, nominated by political meetings held in the several districts; but an inspection of the results of the votes shows that *the name of a man who is highly respected, or who has done valuable service, is often put on all the tickets irrespective of party, and that in close districts it is not uncommon to agree on a ticket which includes men from different groups.* * * * In 1887, for example, only 40 per cent. of the seats in the national council were contested, and in five of these the contest was between men of the same party.*

Reviewing the above quotation specially note that *the transfer of the final power from the political party to the people means* THE TERMINATION OF PARTY GOVERNMENT. POLITICAL PARTIES EXIST but they become "collections of individuals who look at public matters from the same standpoint" and they have but little machinery for

* Governments and Parties in Continental Europe by Lowell, 307, 313, 314.

nominating candidates. In other words, the parties "rarely try to run candidates of their own. * * * THEY CORRESPOND IN FACT MORE NEARLY TO OUR REFORM CLUBS, TEMPERANCE ASSOCIATIONS AND LABOR ORGANIZATIONS THAN TO OUR POLITICAL PARTIES."

Such, to a considerable degree, were the conditions in the United States during 1817 to 1824. It was an "era of good feeling". Another era of this character has begun in Oregon: "The first effect of the Referendum in Oregon," writes Hon. W. S. U'Ren, "is the comparative absence of charges of corruption and partisanship in the legislature."

And the Referendum campaigns on constitutional amendments in the several states have always been non-partisan. Likewise the Referendum campaigns on statute law; for example, in New York state last year the proposition to enlarge the Erie canal was submitted to Referendum vote by a Republican legislature and adopted by the votes of Democratic strongholds. In both the Referendum elections in Chicago on public ownership of street railways there were no party politics.

Turning to the political parties themselves, one begins to realize something of the far-reaching change. Instead of the rule of the few through party government with the "outs" endeavoring in every possible way to oust the "ins"—instead of this, *the final power is the people themselves.* Party government is abolished, *i. e.* government through competing parties is terminated. The final power is in a vote of the people. *It is a single organization in place of competing organizations.*

This tendency to oneness (monopoly) is seen in all departments of our civilization. For example, in the railway systems of the country, the post-office, the telegraph, the steel industry, the sugar industry, etc. Each of these industries has developed to a single organization.

The principle is, *Competition between organizations* TENDS TO CEASE. *But competition between individuals continues,* THERE BEING A CHANGE IN THE DIRECTION OF THE COMPETITION. Where there is a single organization (a monopoly) and it is operated under guarded representative government the question is, Who can best serve the public? instead of, Who can fleece the public? and thereby make the largest possible profit for a private corporation.

The tendency to a single organization is taking place among the nations of the earth, for international law exists, also international courts of arbitration, both of which will be added to gradually until the settlement of *all* international questions will be through these institutions. When such a thing exists the states of the world will have become *fully* merged in a single organization,—the World-State. The time will surely come when the war drum will throb no longer, and the battle flags will be furled "in the parliament of man, the federation of the world."

Recurring to the evils of party government, permit me to quote the question which Professor Goldwin Smith asked in the September number of *The North American Review,* 1901:

Is the Party System of Government then to last forever [in England]? Are we to regard as final the division of a nation into organized factions waging a perpetual war of intrigue, calumny and corruption with each other? Is one-half of the community forever to regard the other half as its political enemy? Is it always to be the duty of the minority to make government in the hands of the majority unpopular and unsuccessful? Can any house thus divided against itself expect to stand?

Nature provides, as we have seen, that this strife between competing party organizations shall largely be outgrown within each nation, just as there is being outgrown the strife between competing organizations in the business world. Eventually the political questions in each nation will be settled in a Congress of Experts, elected by the people who reserve in themselves the power of the Veto and of the Initiative. And each monopoly question being a political question, it is to be settled in the manner indicated.

When government through a political party originated it was a step in advance, for it effectually terminated the monopoly of political power in the king and resulted in the separation of church and state. This aided the weak and helpless. But two hundred years have elapsed, and each day that government through a political party is continued it raises up legal privileges and oppresses the weak and helpless, and the life of each individual engaged in bargaining is almost completely in antagonism to the Sermon on the Mount. A change to enlightened majority rule at once sets in operation a succession of causes, each of which tends to produce action that is in conformity to Christ's teachings. *It is clear, therefore, that one's religious duty is to work for the people's sovereignty in the United States.* So long as party government prevails (the rule of the few) there will continue the existing premium for large-scale cheating, lying, stealing and even murder, *e. g.,* the refusal to supply automatic car couplers and other life-saving devices, and there will continue the depressions with hosts of unemployed and consequent evils, such as loss of honor and virtue, starvation, disease, and degeneracy, child labor, miserable surroundings for the unemployed, crowded tenements, etc. In connection with these evils are military and naval wars with their manifold horrors. All this tends to a degeneracy of the race, and, if continued long enough, would result in a complete overthrow by the barbarous races, as the Roman civilization in the days of its degeneracy was overthrown by the barbarians of the North. But the rule of the few is *not* to continue, and in succeeding chapters we shall demonstrate that in this country the time is at hand when party government—machine rule—is to give way to an improved system of representative government.

That this is the dominant issue is declared by nearly all the non-partisan organizations, as we shall show, and we shall point out that not one of the party machines is advocating the abolition of machine rule. Even the machines of the third parties have such an exaggerated opinion of their own capabilities that each wants to become a ruler, promising to be a good despot.

BOOK IV.

ESTABLISHMENT OF PEOPLE'S SOVEREIGNTY THE DOMINANT ISSUE.

CHAPTER XXIV.

ISSUES IN THE CAMPAIGN (1904).

In Book II. there is outlined the development of representative government, showing that the order of progress is from party government to a system in which the people possess a veto power and a direct initiative, thereby regaining the sovereignty which they lost when the states in early Germany and Britain became too large for legislation through direct assemblages.

In the United States at the present time there is party government, except in Oregon and South Dakota where the people have established their sovereignty.

The present-day evils of party government have been pointed out, among which is the existence of private monopolies termed Trusts. This is the principal economic evil, for the robbery of the people amounts to about two billion dollars annually.

Other evils are militarism and the open repudiation of popular government in three states.

The judiciary branch of the government is also controlled by the ruling few, and the federal and state constitutions have been altered by judicial construction, while occasionally a provision has been openly swept aside.

Amid these changes the system of government has been changed from a Republic to an Empire, for the Porto Ricans and Filipinos are held as subjects—a republic has no subjects.

Back of all these evils from party government is the use of immense funds in politics, contributed by the monopolists who have captured the political machines of the leading parties, because they have been able to outbid all competitors. This evil is termed political corruption or graft.

All the evils can be bunched together under the term Machine Rule.

The remedy, manifestly, is for the people to take to themselves a veto power and a direct initiative, thereby establishing their sovereignty and terminating the rule of the few. This change, when it is established, will quickly be reflected in the laws, also in the administrative departments and in the courts. The judges will be among the first to obey the dominant power.

THE DOMINANT POLITICAL ISSUE.

The dominant political issue, then, as distinguished from the economic and moral issues, is the establishment of the sovereignty of the people through the adoption of a people's veto and direct initiative, for it is the only way that trustocracy, imperialism, militarism and the other forms of rule by the few through the party machine can be abolished.

This reasoning is axiomatic, because so long as party government is continued there is necessarily the rule of the few. The only way that the people's sovereignty can be established over a large area is through the establishment of a people's veto and a direct initiative.

Plain as these facts are they are ignored by all the party organizations, including the Populists, the Socialists and the Prohibitionists.

CHAPTER XXV.

PROGRAMS OF PARTY MACHINES ARE DEFICIENT.

DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN MACHINES.

In both the leading parties, the Republican and Democratic parties, it is stated in various ways that monopolies in private hands (the trusts) should be terminated, and that other of the evils of party government should be lessened, but nowhere in the platform is it recognized that the dominant issue is the termination of the rule of the few. In other words, *the machines of the leading parties have not declared that they themselves should lose their sovereign power, and to do so would be contrary to human nature.*

THIRD PARTY PLATFORMS OF 1904 ARE INCONSISTENT.

The platform of each of the third parties declares for the referendum and initiative, *but the demand is coupled with a demand that the party*

be installed in power to enact certain laws. In other words, there is a demand that party government be continued and a demand that it be abolished. This is inconsistent.

The issue that the rule of the few be terminated was plainly stated in a platform reported to the People's party national convention of 1902 at Louisville, April 4th. The platform set forth in strong and vigorous language the evils of machine rule and declared for its overthrow by the establishment of the referendum and initiative and added:

CONSISTENT PLATFORM OF 1902.

Through this open door of majority rule will come the following and other reforms: [Reciting the leading legislative demands of the People's party.]

This platform was changed in the convention, but not on a direct vote. The referendum and initiative were placed as *one* of the demands, thus mixing the demand for *abolition* of party government with a demand for legislation *through* party government.

The following year, 1903, Hon. Jo. A. Parker, of Kentucky, secured in a joint state convention of the People's party and Labor party of Kentucky a consistent and effective program, published as Appendix VII.

The foregoing paragraphs demonstrate that from the people's standpoint the programs of the party machines are deficient. The platforms of the leading parties are for the continuance of machine rule, while the demands of the third parties are inconsistent, one portion demanding that the party machine be placed in power *that it may enact certain laws,* while another section demands the *abolition of machine rule.* But there are two instances, at least in which in previous years a consistent anti-machine bargain of a political party has been framed, and it should convince third-party workers as to the efficiency of the system.

In the following chapter the demand of the granges, unions and other non-partisan organizations for the termination of machine rule, is stated in clear and forceful language.

CHAPTER XXVI.

NON-PARTISAN ORGANIZATIONS DEMAND TERMINATION OF MACHINE RULE.

For years the organizations of wage-earners have been demanding the adoption of the referendum and the initiative, but only two years ago did they begin to state that *the ousting of the ruling few by the attainment of enlightened majority rule is the first step in reform.* For example, the Missouri State Federation of Labor at its annual convention early in January, 1902, declared:

Whereas, T Stupendous Monopolies that are changing the form of our government from a Republic to an Empire, and are throwing workmen by the thousands out of employment in order to reduce wages and increase prices, *are ever active in securing the nomination and election of legislators pledged to the maintenance of these monstrous wrongs; and,*

Whereas, For the past ten years the State Federation of Labor has been seeking needed labor legislation from *General Assemblies dominated by the owners of special privileges* and is now formulating measures for enactment by the next General Assembly; and,

Whereas, The American Federation of Labor has for the past ten years demanded the adoption of direct legislation into our organic law as the PRE-REQUISITE to all other legislation necessary for the wise and just solution of the economic and industrial problems that confront us.

Another statement is contained in a resolution adopted in Michigan:

Resolved, That we respectfully urge all who are working for better laws to recognize (1) that until the system of government is so changed that the legislative power is taken from the few and restored to the voters it is useless to expect that these few will reverse their action and legislate against themselves; and (2) that when the system is changed there will inevitably follow such changes in the laws as the majority, under able leadership, may desire.

The truth contained in this statement is stated in a different manner in Texas. An address, issued by the State Federation's Committee on Direct Legislation, combined with committees from several Central Labor Unions, under the name "Texas Non-Partisan Federation for Majority Rule," contains the following:

The fact is evident to all that while industrial machinery has been wonderfully improved in many ways there has developed a centralization of political power. The party system has developed so that the legislative power in city, state and nation *is in the hands of a few,* and these few are principally the ones who own the monopolies and contribute as campaign funds a portion of the money they wring from the people.

To remedy these conditions the legislative power *must be restored to the people—to the Majority.* It is useless to expect that while legislation is controlled by the few, they will reverse their action. They will not. Therefore the power to legislate against the interest of the people must be restored to the majority, to whom it rightfully belongs.

To the same effect is the following declaration by the American Federation of Labor, an organization in which the greater part of the wage-earners' Unions are federated:

Resolved, That the twenty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirms the demand of the order *for more political power in its members and in the people at large,* and to this end demands a people's veto, the direct ballot to be called for by not to exceed five per cent. of the voters; and a direct initiative by not to exceed eight per cent.

THE GRANGES.

The same year that organized wage-earners declared as above, there were similar declarations by organized farmers. For example, the Wisconsin State Grange declared:

Resolved, That the people should protect their rights *from the growing power of the few by taking to themselves a veto power through the optional referendum, and a direct initiative.*

Similar resolutions had been adopted by the State Granges in Oregon and Washington, and

in 1902 were adopted in Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, West Virginia, Pennsylvania and Rhode Island. Since then other State Granges have declared for more power in the people, as also have great numbers of the county and local granges, and the Master of the National Grange, in 1902 and 1903 made the following declarations, which were approved by the conventions:

All the American people (except those only who are directly interested in trusts) demand protection by State and National Law from these combinations.

There is no political party that defends them, and all declare against them. * * *

The National Grange has been conservative and consistent, and the position of the order was taken at the great Trust Conference, held in the city of Chicago, September, 1899, and was more fully stated in brief, in the report of the special committee on Trusts, at the Springfield, Ohio, session held November, 1899. * * *

The patrons of husbandrys position is right and has always been right. The people of the country are with us. *Patrons, the time has come when promises will not suffice! Action; decisive action, is demanded.*

Any public official whose duty it is to act, and he does not perform his entire duty in the enactment and enforcement of laws to suppress evils of trusts, whatever political faith he may profess, with whatever political party he may affiliate, *should be defeated for renomination and election.* All politicians and political parties should understand that the rights of the people must be respected, and that special privilege will not be tolerated, and any law or laws now in force which enable manufacturers to sell, and they do sell, in foreign countries, any manufactured article at a less price than they sell to American citizens, thus using the laws of our country to discriminate against our citizens, said law or laws should at once be revised, amended or repealed, and all such practices made impossible.

THE LAWS OF OUR COUNTRY MUST EXPRESS THE WILL AND MAINTAIN THE RIGHTS OF THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE AND SAID LAWS MUST BE ENFORCED AND OBEYED BY ALL INDIVIDUALS AND CORPORATIONS.

Such is the statement of the Worthy Master of the National Grange. This position was reiterated and emphasized in the annual report of the succeeding year, 1903. It was pointed out that the monopoly extortions from the selling prices of farm products for the preceding year amounted to seven hundred million dollars and the Worthy Master said:

The majority of the people neither belong to trust associations nor labor unions. Whatever selfish advantage they have secured is taken from the majority of the people. The people are becoming exhausted and restive. If combinations of capital and labor will not consider the interests and rights of those outside their organizations, then it is time that the majority of the people, who pay most of the taxes and maintain the nation should force their interests on the attention of these organizations and the country. *They,* THE MAJORITY, *can make laws and enforce them, upon which both organized capital and labor depends;* AND IT CLEARLY BECOMES THEIR DUTY TO DO SO.

These strong declarations for majority rule were unanimously approved by the conventions.

The Master of the Washington State Grange, J. O. Wing, declared as follows in his annual report, June 1903:

"I consider at the present time that the amending of our State Constitution providing for the "Initiative and Referendum"*is the most important matter that we have to consider in the matter of legislation.* This is not a partisan question, but is advocated by the best members of all parties. It is feared by corrupt politicians, as it is a check on vicious legislation. It is not a new feature in government, being the same principle applied to laws that has always been applied to constitutional amendments.

We should commence our campaign of education NOW, AND CO-OPERATE WITH ALL OTHER ORGANIZATIONS THAT ARE WORKING IN FAVOR OF THIS MEASURE.

One year after the above was stated, Brother Wing in a letter dated July 2d, says:

Washington has increased her membership 47 per cent. during the past year, thus adding considerable to her influence for Direct Legislation. At our last session the Grange again took a strong stand upon this question, and will follow up the plan of questioning candidates for the Legislature. We shall try to work with organized labor upon this question.

The Farmers' National Congress at its last convention (1903), with delegates from twenty-five states unanimously adopted the following resolution against the rule of the few:

FARMERS' NATIONAL CONGRESS.

Resolved, That we heartily endorse the non-partisan movement for the extension of the use of the referendum, and recommend the subject to the careful consideration of the farmers in all our states.

The foregoing declarations by Organized Farmers and Organized Wage-earners demonstrate the widespread demand for a people's veto and direct initiative—the overthrow of the rule of the few through the party machine. The dominant issue, they declare, is the overthrow of machine rule by establishing the people's sovereignty. This is the first step in reform. In fact, it will insure the accomplishment of all sorts of legislative reforms—whatever the enlightened will of the majority may desire.

This attitude of the non-partisan organizations is logical, whereas the program of each of the third party machines is inconsistent, as we have shown.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE CLASS STRUGGLE: ANTI-MONOPOLISTS VERSUS MONOPOLISTS.

Trust Question the Dominant Issue—Non-Partisan Organizations Are Agreed—Program of Socialist Party is Fallacious.

Turning from the dominant political issue—the proposed change in the system of government, let us consider the dominant *economic* issue. Stated differently, What legislation concerning the industries of the country is most needed?

The non-partisan organizations of the country are agreed that the crying evil in industry is Private Monopoly, usually termed the Trusts. This is the declaration of organized farmers, organized business men and organized wage-earners.

In the annual report of the Master of the National Grange, Brother Aaron Jones, November, 1902, he said:

Organized Farmers Are Fighting Monopoly.

The most important question before the American people is that of Trusts. These combinations are growing stronger, and more exacting every year. The farms, homes, crops, stock, and other property of the five million eight hundred thousand farmers, and also the awards for the labor of the thirty million men, women and children who live upon and cultivate these farms, *are always at the mercy of those vast combinations. They direct and fix the price of what the people may buy and sell.*

The $1,400,000,000 Steel Trust fixes the price of nails and wire used in fencing or other improvements.

The $120,000,000 International Harvester Trust fixes the price of the machines used in saving the crops.

The Standard Oil and Coal Trusts fix the cost of lighting or heating our homes, and the hundreds of other trusts, representing $10,000,000,000 of capital, water or real, *have the farmer, the mechanic, the laborer, and all the common people who have made this country prosperous and developed its wonderful resources,* ABSOLUTELY UNDER THEIR DOMINION.

The Grange was among the first great organizations to defend the rights of the people against the crimes of organized greed. Day by day, and year by year, the Grange has pointed out the disastrous results that would follow the allowing of combinations of capital and conspiracies intended to restrict trade, create monopolies, limit production, prevent competition, or to control prices. The earnest and determined efforts of the Patrons of Husbandry have aroused the people to the dangers incident to trust methods.

Such is the statement by the Master of the National Grange and it was heartily approved by the convention.

Statements similar to this have been made by the organizations of business men except the few that are themselves monopolizing an industry or attempting to do so. Said Mr. Frank Barry, Secretary of the League of National Associations, in testifying before the interstate commerce committee of the senate, January 26, 1900, in advocacy of an amendment to prevent discriminations in freight rates:

Business Men's Organizations Are Fighting Monopoly.

This is the greatest anti-trust law that Congress can place upon the statute books, BECAUSE IT STRIKES AT THE CONDITIONS WHICH MAKE THE INDUSTRIAL TRUST POSSIBLE.

Without the favors in transportation, which are not only granted to but are often forced by the great trade and manufacturing combinations, THEY COULD EXIST ONLY WITH GREAT DIFFICULTY AND MUST FINALLY SUCCUMB TO THE SUCCESSFUL COMPETITION OF INDEPENDENT MANUFACTURERS AND TRADESMEN.

The very broad public sentiment existing, favorable to this legislation, is mirrored in the press of the land at the present time. Leading editorials and lengthy statistical arguments for this bill have appeared in the foremost daily and periodical publications of our principal cities.

Commercial organizations throughout the entire country have taken an active interest in supporting this movement and indorsing the bill, such as they were never before known to evince in any subject. * * *

I wish to say here that there are about fifty-nine national commercial organizations, all of which were communicated with, and with scarcely an exception we have their replies, stating that we might count them in on this movement, and expressing their approval of the bill in all of its terms.

Since that time these national organizations have taken up the subject of the desired amendments with their memberships, and in convention have expressed the most heart and unqualified approval of this bill. They have been joined in the movement by the National League of Commission Merchants, The National Wholesale Grocers' Association, American Association of Flint and Lime Glass Manufacturers, National Paint, Oil and Varnish Association, National Hardware Association, National Association of Stove Manufacturers, and many others, beside local, State and interstate organizations, boards of trade, etc., too numerous to mention. * * *

Just a word as to what these national associations are: *Some of them are composed of State or sectional organizations, which in turn comprise in their membership the great majority of those carrying on the particular line of business in their respective territories.* Of these, the Millers' National Association is a type. Nearly all of them are associations of subsidiary organizations of one kind or another which are located in all parts of the United States. None of these associations are small. They all fully represent what their names import—the persons, firms, companies and corporations who produce the immense commerce and carry on the great industries of the United States, with a working capital actually invested beside which the enormous stated capitalization of the railways is not formidable. *These representative national societies are formed* FOR THE MAIN PURPOSE OF PROTECTING THE TRADE AND INDUSTRY OF THIS COUNTRY, and it is no new thing to find them appealing to the Congress of the nation for remedial legislation. Two or three industrial combinations, which have reached such proportions that they are able to dominate and control the railway interest and railway rates, are not with us. *With those exceptions the supporters of this measure, as represented in these organizations,* ARE PRACTICALLY ALL OF THE FARMERS, ALL OF MANUFACTURERS, ALL OF THE MERCHANTS, ALL OF THE GENERAL TRADERS AND DEALERS OF THE UNITED STATES.*

The wage-earners, too, are oppressed by the monopolists. Nearly everything they consume is purchased at a monopoly price, and the price of labor is hammered down by the monopolists. It follows that the organizations of wage-earners are fighting the monopolists. Says President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor in an extra number of the official magazine of the order, just issued:

Wage-Earners Organizations Are Fighting Monopolists.

Remember that the issue is the establishment of the people's sovereignty. It is not a labor question only nor simply a question of capitalism, but a question of monopoly. Shall the monopoly of all the political power of the country be in all the people or

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* Hearing of Interstate Commerce Committee, U. S. Senate, Jan. 26, 1900, pages 1 to 7.

continued in the ruling few? *It is the people against the monopolists.*

Reviewing the preceding paragraphs it is clear that the farmers, business men and wage-earners are all fighting the monopolists—the trust magnates. The Trust Question, then, is the dominant issue.

Anti-Monopolists versus Monopolists.

It is the anti-monopolists versus the monopolists. Ninety-nine per cent. of the people are arrayed against one per cent. or less. BUT THE ONE PER CENT. ARE IN POWER OWING TO AN UNNECESSARY DELEGATION OF POWER BY THE VOTERS. AS RAPIDLY AS THE VOTERS TAKE TO THEMSELVES THE RIGHT TO A DIRECT BALLOT ON PUBLIC QUESTIONS THEY COME INTO POWER, AND THEN ALL RUNS SMOOTHLY. *Such has been the experience in Switzerland, in Oregon and in South Dakota. Whatever legislation the public welfare requires is enacted through the system of guarded representative government.*

That this is the line of evolution is no mere theory, however, a thorough demonstration has been made in Switzerland, Oregon and South Dakota, as we have said.

Let us compare the socialist party program.

Socialist Party Program is Fallacious.

The dominant issue, declares the socialist party, is not the establishment of the people's sovereignty, but that the socialist party *machine* shall become the sovereign power, pledged to immediate public ownership and operation of *all the means of production and distribution.* "The class struggle," declares the national platform adopted at Chicago, May 5, 1904, "is due to the private ownership of the means of employment, or the tools of production."

Mark you, such is the program of the socialist party and at a time when not only the working people but nearly all the capitalists are being fleeced by the monopolists. The amount of the monopoly robbery is some two billion dollars annually, yet the socialist party demands that workmen and the capitalists shall *not* join together and establish the sovereignty of the people and at once terminate the monopoly robberies!

The non-partisan organizations, however, the labor unions, the granges and the business men's organizations, are unitedly demanding the abolition of party government—machine rule. by the establishment of the people's sovereignty through a people's veto and direct initiative, which can be secured in this year's campaign by merely questioning the candidates of all the parties. This we shall demonstrate in later chapters.

The socialist party program, on the other hand, is the building up of a party *machine* and which shall *not* come into power *until it can confiscate the entire capital of the country!* Then after the revolution has been accomplished by the socialist party machine—the rule of the few—the people are to be placed in power by granting to them a people's veto through the referendum, and a direct initiative!

A comparison of the two programs and comparison with what has actually taken place in Switzerland and Oregon demonstrates which program is in line with the principles of social development. In Switzerland, for example, where the people have attained their sovereignty and have terminated private monopoly, all is running smoothly *and the socialist party has been obliged to reconstruct its program or go out of business.* See page 59, above.

The foregoing should be thoroughly studied by those who are interested in social welfare. And is there anyone who isn't interested? Good intentions should be coupled with clear thinking or serious evils will result. For example, the bad conditions in Colorado are largely due to the dominance of socialist party theories. The American Labor Union, of which the Western Federation of Miners is a component part, declared for socialism two years ago. since which time it has been preached to the members of the union that private ownership of the means of production and exchange is robbery. Says Mr. Ray Stannard Baker in his article on the Colorado situation in McClure's Magazine for May, 1904:

What Socialist Party Program Leads To.

The Western Federation of Miners has declared itself Socialistic; preaches the Socialistic doctrine, urges its members to vote Socialist ticket, although a large proportion of the membership is not Socialistic. In this respect it departs widely from the conservatve trade-union movement of the country. *It is not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor,* NOR DO ITS LEADERS AGREE WITH THE TRADE-UNION IDEA AS IT IS ADVANCED BY MR. GOMPERS, MR. MITCHELL, MR. KEEFE, MR. WHITE, MR. CLARK, AND OTHER PROMINENT LEADERS. One of the fundamental purposes of trade unionism is *to deal with the employer or the employers' organization in a friendly business spirit, to make mutually agreeable settlements and contracts.* Witness the system of agreements under which the Typographical Union, the United Mine Workers, and the Railroad Brotherhoods have worked for years. It is the desire of the legitimate trade-unionist to join with the employer and work out the problems of each industry. But the Socialist sets himself on a different plane. He regards the employer as a robber, an exploiter, of whom he is the victim; and no matter how much the employer might give him in increased wages and shorter hours, he would still be a robber and the Socialist still the victim. He even tends to lose respect for property, regarding it as the accumulation of robber wealth; on the card which every member of the Western Federation of Miners carries, and printed on the cover of the official organ of the union, *The Miners' Magazine,* is this slogan of Socialism: "Labor produces all wealth: wealth belongs to the producer thereof."

I listened several times to the speeches of President Moyer, "Mother" Jones, and other leaders. Here is a sample from "Mother" Jones:

"These robber exploiters take the wealth that we have produced by the toil of our hands and the sweat of our brows. Before the warfare comes to an end labor must be given all, capital itself must be destroyed, and Socialism must take its place."

How can President Moyer and Secretary Haywood go from a meeting in which they have been making their followers believe these things and talk calm business agreements with employers who have no right to existence?

And they take quite a different position upon a strike from that of the conservative trade-unionist. Any disturbance with them, for good or for bad, is helpful in calling attention to the "burden borne by the masses"; it serves to stir up that "class consciousness" which is the present dream of the Socialist, to

separate employer and employee by a wider and wider chasm, thereby hastening the day when the "government must step in and take control."

A SECESSION FROM SOCIETY.

Indeed, the policy of the Western Federation of Miners in Colorado, would suggest a sort of secession from society. Everything is all wrong—government, politics, industry, religion. So we find the union opening its own stores, trying to run its own hospital, negotiating for a coal mine to dig its own coal, encouraging its members to avoid a "capitalistic press" and read only good socialistic papers. They not only want Socialism, but they want it this morning. Meanwhile the old world moves onward, and things grow, not by miracles, but slowly and painfully.

But in spite of the mistakes, the violences, the arrogance, the unreasoning sympathetic strikes of the Federation in Colorado—mistakes now inexorably winnowed out and punished—the union is by no means entirely to blame for the sorry conditions existing in Colorado. [See preceding chapters describing the evils of machine rule.]

The evils that are flowing from the socialist program are deep-seated, as we have seen. Compare the Colorado situation with the conditions in Switzerland! There the system of government has evolved from party government to the next higher stage *and the socialist party contention is a back number.* "To avoid extinction," writes Professor Macy, "some of the Swiss socialists have proposed radical changes in the socialistic doctrine and the method of action."

You who realize the fallacy in the socialist party contention ought to work with the non-partisan organizations, FOR THEY ALONE HAVE A PRACTICABLE PROGRAM FOR THE IMMEDIATE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S SOVEREIGNTY. The details of the system will be stated in a moment. Right here the writer desires to briefly summarize the reasons why he has steadfastly refused to join the socialist party:

REASONS FOR STAYING OUT OF SOCIALIST PARTY.

1. Because the real issue to-day—the class struggle—is between the anti-monopolists and the monopolists, and not between labor and capital.

2. When the monopoly of the political power shall be taken over by the people through the right to a direct ballot. they will immediately terminate the private control of the economic monopolies and will shut out cut-throat competition. As rapidly as administrative institutions can be developed, the competition between organizations within an industry will be terminated. These developments will take time.

3. The principles involved are democratic and republican instead of socialistic, as is actually demonstrated by what has taken place in Switzerland. The Germans, who developed the socialist party theories, never experienced liberty *and therefore could not forecast conditions that come with liberty,* as is proved by the conditions where full-fledged liberty exists, namely, in Switzerland.

4. To the foregoing the writer desires to point out that each increase in membership in the socialist party is a loss to the country and an injury to the ones who join. On the other hand, to join in the non-partisan program of questioning candidates as to the establishment of the people's sovereignty is to exert a power the extent of which is almost beyond comprehension, as is shown in the following division, Book V.

5. Furthermore, the people's sovereignty will probably be established nationally within two years, and then will be directly initiated the bills to nationalize the railway and telegraph and to restore competitive prices in the products of the mines or establish public ownership. The socialist party will take no part in the movement unless its program is radically changed. The non-partisan organizations and the leagues co-operating with them will frame the measures, get the signatures to the petitions and argue the questions. This is the way that things have gone in Switzerland. Organized wage-earners and organized farmers have taken the lead in the securing of progressive measures.

6. When the guarded system of representative government is installed in the near future, statesmanship will become a profession—those who have demonstrated their leadership will be kept in office term after term as long as they care to serve. Far-sighted people should see in the present conditions the path to effective helpfulness and leadership. Those who excel in questioning the candidates, whether within the grange, the unions or the leagues, will have demonstrated their worth to their fellow-citizens, who will request, doubtless, that they represent them in the legislative bodies and in administrative positions. Now, as never before, is the saying applicable,—

There is a tide in the affairs of men,
Which, taken at the flood leads on to fortune.



BOOK V.

LINE OF LEAST RESISTANCE FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF PEOPLE'S SOVEREIGNTY.

History Demonstrates Line of Least Resistance in City, State and Nation.

History shows the trend of the manifold tendencies in social evolution. *For a century and a quarter the Referendum System has been extended in various ways, and during the past two years with great rapidity.* An outline of this history, *demonstrating the lines of least resistance in city, state and nation, is* herewith presented.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

LINE OF LEAST RESISTANCE IN AMERICAN CITIES.

A. IOWA CITIES EMANCIPATED BY STATUTE LAW.

The system of government in each city in the United States is controlled by the legislature, while the legislature is controlled by the party in power in the state, and back of this party is the "machine."

In every state except Iowa this system of machine rule has oppressed the people in the cities. *Only in Iowa has the legislature accorded a nearly complete sovereignty to the people in the villages and cities.*

Beginning with a law in 1858, the citizens have been accorded the referendum ballot—majority rule, as to incorporation, changes of boundary, and this same law provided that one-fourth of the qualified voters might initiate a proposal to amend the city charter, the decision to rest in a majority of the voters in the territory affected.

Likewise, the voters in each city have been authorized to change their corporate name, and to establish a free public library and reading-room "provided a suitable lot and building shall first be donated to such city for that purpose."

An initiative for aiding in the construction of railroads was placed in "a majority of the resident freehold taxpayers." But no proposal to aid a railroad corporation can be adopted until a special election is held and the proposal is indorsed by "two-thirds of the votes polled."

These are only samples of the manner in which the Iowa voters have been accorded their liberties, and as a result there is scarcely a scandal concerning city government in Iowa. City monopolies, especially, are controlled by the people. Beginning with a law of 1872 authorizing publicly owned water works, the determining power on this great question has been the voters themselves. Public ownership of gas works and electric lights was authorized in 1888, but "not until a majority of the legal voters at a general or special election decide in favor of the same." The question may be brought to a vote "upon the petition of twenty-five property owners in each ward of the city or town."

Here we have the direct initiative, also a people's veto.

The laws of the state were codified in 1899, *and the people's veto and direct initiative were extended to practically all of the city monopolies.*

In 1900 the referendum reached a stage where the legislature provided a separate ballot for measures. *In Iowa, then, there are separate ballots for men and for measures.*

And in these Iowa cities there is practically no corruption, whereas in Missouri and Illinois and all the other adjoining states except South Dakota, there is no end of corruption.

B. SOUTH DAKOTA CITIES EMANCIPATED BY CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT.

In Iowa the system has been enacted by statute law. In South Dakota it has been applied by constitutional amendment, adopted by the people in 1898 and put into operation by statute law, March, 1899, since which time there is an absence of corruption and no granting of franchises to private corporations except for telephones, which are part of a national monopoly. In other words, where the people rule they refuse to give to anyone a special privilege except where it is absolutely necessary.

C. SEVERAL CITIES EMANCIPATED BY CHARTER AMENDMENTS.

Several cities have secured a people's veto and direct initiative by a change in the city charter. Among these cities are San Francisco, Los Angeles, Pasadena, Portland, Seattle and Denver. In each of them, except Denver, the voters have experienced the benefit and are heartily pleased with their increase of power. In Denver the new charter was only recently installed.

D. Statutory Provisions in Indiana, Wisconsin and Montana for People's *Veto* as to Franchises for City Monopolies.

In several states the legislature has enacted a statute providing that each ordinance of a city council granting a franchise for a city monopoly *may be vetoed by the people.* Such is the case in Iowa, as we have said, also in Indiana, Wisconsin and Montana. This prevents boodling as to franchises and ordinances, for the final power is no longer in the common council but in the people.

E. Advisory Initiative in Illinois Cities Through Statute Law.

In Illinois the legislature of 1901 authorized twenty-five per cent of the voters in each of the municipalities of the state to bring to a referendum vote of their fellow-citizens three public questions in each election. The verdict of the people is said to be advisory *but in reality it is an Instruction*—a command which the representatives are morally bound to observe, *and they actually do obey where they are questioned before election as to whether, if elected, they will heed the will of the people when expressed through a referendum vote.*

Under this advisory initiative in Illinois municipalities, two referendum votes have been cast in Chicago. The first one was in April, 1902, and the people declared for public ownership of the street railways and gas plants and for direct nominations.

This vote, combined with the pledging of candidates for aldermen, described in a succeeding section, *helped to prevent the extension of the street railway franchises.* This street railway question was put to a second vote in the April election of this year and again the people declared for public ownership. 2½ to 1. They instructed, also, that the existing private ownership be continued temporarily through a license system revocable at any time. The referendum ballot submitted, also, the question of adopting the Mueller law, which authorizes the city to enter upon public ownership of the street railway and issue certificates of indebtedness to obtain funds to pay for the acquired properties.

This advisory initiative system of Illinois has been used in other cities than Chicago but the facts have not been collected.

In Buffalo, New York, a referendum league was organized about a year ago with a view to securing from the legislature a charter amendment for an advisory initiative, similar to the Illinois system. The Buffalo Board of Trade endorsed the plan and the people of the city were practically unanimous in their demand for it, but the sovereign power in the state—the party in power in the legislature, refused to surrender any of its authority. The people of Buffalo, therefore, have started in to emancipate themselves, they are working for the immediate adoption of the system which originated at Winnetka, Illinois, and is described in the following section.

F. Self-Emancipation of Citizens at Winnetka, Illinois.

In most of the states the monopolists have prevented the legislature from establishing a people's veto as to franchises for city monopolies, and they have kept the legislature from submitting a constitutional amendment. This has left the people in the clutches of private monopoly with its robbery and corruption.

The Anglo-Saxon spirit of liberty, however, coupled with ingenuity, has worked out a system of Self-Emancipation. The time was eight years ago. The place, Winnetka, Illinois, a suburb of Chicago, peopled largely by bright and active business men of that city and by the late Henry D. Lloyd and by Judge Windes, of the Appellate Court. Certain would-be monopolists proposed to the village council that it grant them a forty-year franchise for a gas plant. This was opposed by the citizens for they wanted public ownership of city monopolies. They possessed a publicly owned water-works system and aimed to keep from the clutches of private monopoly. Fortunately there was being held at that time a public meeting each month to consider public questions. It was termed the "town meeting." At the next town meeting after the gas question came up there was adopted a resolution asking the village council to submit the question to the people. A deputation of leading citizens called upon the city council at its next meeting, and Mr. Lloyd was accorded the privilege of speaking. After a warm time the council reluctantly agreed to submit the question to the voters and abide by their decision. The polls were opened and the proposed franchise received only 4 votes with 180 against it.

This settled the gas franchise and it did much more, for at the next caucus for nominating village trustees it was proposed and seconded that only those men should be nominated who would stand up before their fellow-voters and promise that if nominated and elected *they would submit all important questions to a vote of the people and abide by their decision.* This was agreed to by the voters present, and each nominee for village trustee stood before his fellow-citizens and promised.

Thus was the system installed, for there were no competing nominations. The casting of ballots on election day was a mere form.

From that day until the present time the people of Winnetka have been the sovereign power as to ordinances. They are a Self-Emancipated People.

Advisory Referendum Described.

Reviewing the above it is seen that the pledges for installing the referendum system were secured by Questioning Candidates, while the system itself is through Rules of Procedure, which may be incorporated in the rules themselves or in an ordinance or statute. The system is the Advisory Referendum, the candidates being pledged to carry out the people's advice. This they have done in Winnetka and elsewhere, as we shall show. But the system is intended for use only until the usual form can be installed. In fact, it is through an Advisory Initiative that a change in the federal constitution is to be secured and in the near future.

CHAPTER XXIX.

APPLICATION OF WINNETKA SYSTEM, *i. e.* QUESTIONING CANDIDATES AS TO ADVISORY REFERENDUM AND ADVISORY INITIATIVE.

I. The Beginning.

The writer knew of the Winnetka system from the start, and at the close of the national campaign of 1900 realized the absolute need for a people's veto and direct initiative in national affairs. I realized, too, that the federal constitution is a practically unalterable instrument till a direct initiative is installed, *so I conceived the idea that the rule-of-procedure system should be installed in Congress, thus getting around the obstruction.*

I consulted with practical statesmen who agreed with me. Then I moved from New York City to Washington to devote myself to the work.

The facts concerning the Winnetka system were published in various forms and the practicability of the system was endorsed by the National Direct Legislation League; by the Second Social and Political Conference at Detroit; by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and other organizations. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor ordered that an address be issued to the trade unions of the country calling their attention to the system of self-emancipation, with a view to its immediate application to cities and then to states and the nation.

The writer was invited to prepare the address, but owing to unavoidable delay it was not completed till near the time for the assembling of the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor. President Gompers, in his message to the convention. reaffirmed in strong language the need for the referendum and initiative in governmental affairs and suggested that the convention issue the address. The committee, however, to which it was referred suggested that the Winnetka system be explained through the official magazine, *The American Federationists,* and it was so ordered by the convention.

The convention's instruction that the Winnetka system be explained through the American Federationist was complied with in an extra number of 88 large pages. It was prepared by the writer of these pages. Some 26,000 copies were circulated to selected names.

II. Results of Action by American Federation of Labor and Extra Number of Official Magazine.

A. IN GENERAL.

Highly commendatory notices of the special number were received. For example, Ex-Governor John P. Altgeld, who has since died, wrote to the author:

I must compliment you on having presented the subject of the Initiative and Referendum and Representative Government in the most lucid, striking and comprehensive manner that I have ever seen. You have done your country a service.

Governor Altgeld further said:

Through the agency of the labor organizations it ought to get into every neighborhood, *and in time it will create a sentiment that will be irresistible.*

Shortly after the publication of the extra number the Lecturer of the Oregon State Grange wrote to Mr. Shibley:

Permit me to thank you sincerely for your letter, and to say that the pamphlet received from you [extra nummber of *The American Federationist was the means of changing my views upon the question of Direct Legislation* [the Optional Referendum and the Initiative]. I had always been skeptical in regard to the matter, but am now convinced of its entire practicability. I have used a number of the suggestions received from the literature which you sent, *in urging the importance of the proposed amendment to our state constitution, upon the Granges of the state and am pleased to report that favorable results have already followed.* [Later—The vote in the state stood 11 to 1 for the system.]

Letters quite similar to the above were received from Grange officials in several states.

The development of sentiment for majority rule has been very rapid among all classes. For example, the Episcopal Church National Congress of 1902 devoted half a day to the Moral Aspects of the Referendum.

B. SELF-EMANCIPATION OF CITIES.

Immediately upon the publication of the special number, January, 1902, there were results among the labor unions. For example. the President of the Connecticut Federation of Labor issued a short address to the unions of the state directing their attention to the Winnetka system and urging that it be applied at once in the several cities of the state. In Texas the convention of the State Federation of Labor, held almost immediately after the adjournment of the national convention, created a Direct Legislation Committee with instructions to push for the people's sovereignty in municipal affairs.

GENEVA, ILLINOIS.

In Geneva, Illinois, a business men's association appointed a committee to apply the Winnetka system and success was immediate. They installed an advisory initiative, as well as the advisory referendum.

CHICAGO.

At Chicago, Illinois, also, there was a successful campaign. A statute of the state for the advisory initiative was enacted in 1901. Early the next year the Chicago Referendum League was organized to apply the system in Chicago. They succeeded. They filed a petition of more than a hundred thousand names for a referendum vote on three questions, public ownership of street railways and electric lighting plants, and direct nominations. While the question was being discussed the writer was in the city enroute to the East, and found that there was no movement to pledge the aldermanic candidates to obey the will of the people as expressed by referendum vote, and I found, also, that the Municipal Voters' League was opposed to carrying out the will of the people should they vote for public ownership.

I at once set to work and made a "paper organization" to question candidates. A letterhead was published showing an executive committee composed of the leading officers of the Referendum League, Chicago Federation of Labor and the Turner Society, and with an imposing Advisory Council. On this letterhead a communication was addressed to the 182 aldermanic candidates for 35 places. The questions asked were as follows:

1. If elected, will you use the power of your office to execute the will of the people as expressed at the polls? (Ans.) .....

2. If elected, will you vote to adopt and maintain a rule of procedure requiring that any proposed franchise for a public utility, that by favorable action of the council reaches the final stage in the process of adoption, shall, before the last reading, lie before the people for sixty days, and, during said time, if 10 per cent of the voters (calculated on the basis of the votes cast at the preceding election) shall petition for a direct ballot by the electors, it shall be granted? (Ans.) .....

Affirmative replies were received from 70 of the 182 candidates. In a few days we mailed a second letter to those who had not replied, enclosing a copy of the resolution mailed to labor unions, and also a copy of a "Voters' Non-Partisan Agreement," with a blank space for signatures, and these words at the top:

"An effective System for Campaigning. Copies supplied at cost to Aldermanic Nominees."

We at once received 55 additional replies, all in the affirmative.

A report for publication was then prepared and mailed to each of the candidates, offering to supply copies for use in the campaign. *This resulted in three more pledges.* A TOTAL OF *128* OUT OF *182.*

None of the candidates ordered copies of the report. In only ten of the wards was there any real contest, and in these no attention was paid to the questions we had asked. Not one of the papers published the Report, and nothing but a temporary organization had been made, while only three of the labor unions had returned to us an adopted resolution. Yet in the face of all this we found that OF THE THIRTY-FIVE MEN ELECTED MORE THAN A MAJORITY (18) HAD SIGNED OUR PLEDGE.

This demonstrates how easy it is to get legislative candidates to recognize the people's sovereignty! It demonstrates a quick and easy way to emancipate the people, applicable in city, state and nation. It clearly points the way of escape from trust-rule.

I was warranted in this optimistic view, FOR THE SYSTEM HAD WON OUT UNDER THE *VERY* WORST OF CONDITIONS IN THIS COUNTRY, namely, a great city with two million people of all nationalities, and with an immensely valuable issue at stake—street railway franchises the proposed extension of which was valued at $60,000,000; and the campaign was among aldermanic candidates, a class of candidates who are less responsive to public opinion than any other set of legislators, and there was openly opposed to us the Municipal Voters' League and all other organizations of tax payers! But the dominancy of public opinion was so great that the mere questioning of the candidates as to the people's sovereignty resulted in pledges to observe the referendum vote—the people's will. Furthermore, the pledges included an agreement to vote to install the advisory referendum as to franchises for municipal monopolies.

This great victory, under the worst possible conditions in this country and with only a paper organization, buoyed up our hopes and caused us to heartily continue the general line of campaign work, and with results during the next few months in state and national campaigns that were equally hopeful, as we shall point out in later sections.

Only one-half the Chicago common council were elected in 1902. Those who held over were questioned by the *Chicago American* immediately after the election. The question asked was,

Will you obey the people's instructions for public ownership of the street railways and against a long-time extension of franchise?

Of the fifty who were interviewed, thirty-three declared that they would obey the people's will. Ten declared for a short-time franchise in order that the city might get ready for public ownership. Two dodged, and only five declared in favor of a long-term franchise. The mayor declared that he would veto a long-term franchise. *It appeared, therefore, that the long-time extension of the street railway franchise was blocked.*

And such proved to be the case. During the year the monopolists were unable to succeed. And in the legislature elected in the autumn of 1902, which convened the following January, a statute was enacted, the Mueller law, authorizing the city of Chicago to enter upon public ownership of street railways should the people approve the plan submitted. The statute provides all the details for taking over the railways and managing them. Certificates of indebtedness can be issued with the railway property as security. To pass this statute, however, a revolution by force occurred in the House of Representatives at Springfield, described in a later section.

In the Chicago spring election following the one described, the Referendum League of Illinois questioned the candidates for aldermen and mayor as to whether, if elected, they would obey the will of the people as expressed at the polls. A majority of those elected were pledged. This majority combined with the majority that were pledged the preceding year *made a majority in the common council.*

Toward autumn it was rumored that the monopolists had arranged to buy their way through the council, but the people asserted themselves in such a determined manner that no coup d'etat was attempted. Details are set forth in a later section.

In the spring election of 1904 the Referendum

League again used the advisory initiative provided in the state law of 1901. The question put to referendum vote included public ownership of the street railways, and the people again voted for the system, the vote standing 2½ to 1.

At this writing—some four months after the 1904 spring election, it looks as though the demand of the people in Chicago for public ownership of their street railway system is to succeed.

Detroit.

The next city to which I will direct attention is Detroit, Michigan. Before the publication of the extra number of the American Federationist, *the mere proposal of the Winnetka system by a citizens' committee during the winter of 1901-2 prevented the extension of street railway franchises.* When the aldermen had been elected there existed a statute applying the referendum system to the extension of the street railway franchises in Detroit, but the supreme court declared the statute unconstitutional. The would-be franchise grabbers gleefully began to shove through the common council a lot of ordinances for the extension of franchises but encountered two citizens who had acquired a knowledge of the Winnetka system and who had the spirit to apply the system. Hon. Frederick F. Ingram and Mr. G. R. Weikert organized a Citizens' Committee and blocked the game. The committee secured the signatures of most of the leading business houses to a request that no franchise should be extended without being submitted to the voters, then the committee consulted with the franchise committee of the common council and impressed them with the fact that the referendum system to which they had pledged themselves during the campaign for election could still be applied through the Winnetka system of advisory referendum. The committee directed the city attorney to report as to the practicability of the Winnetka plan *and he reported favorably.* The aldermen declared that they would stand by their referendum pledges, and as a vote by the people would have meant the defeat of the proposed franchises there were no further steps at that time to extend the franchises. Later, a rule of procedure for the advisory referendum was introduced in the common council and adopted unanimously, for an election was at hand. In the campaign the candidates were questioned and they promised to vote to retain the advisory referendum, and to obey the will of their constituents when expressed through a referendum vote.

The system has existed for two years. A recent statement by the Municipal League of Detroit as to the results of the system, is as follows:

Results of Advisory Referendum in Detroit.

The amendment to the rules of procedure adopted by the common council two years ago, granting an advisory referendum on all franchise ordinances, *was unanimously re-adopted this year and observed by the common council with the same good faith.*

The advisory referendum permits an expression of the wishes of the voters before the ordinance is passed, when five per cent of the qualified electors by petition ask for it within 30 days after third reading.

These rules give the people an equal opportunity with the corporation or the promoter to let their wishes be known to the common council. Under such rules the people themselves, only, are to blame if undesirable or harmful franchises are granted, while the aldermen deserve and receive the credit due for enactments that redound to the public good.

The franchise speculators' and trust promoters' indorsement is lacking, otherwise the approval of these rules would be practically unanimous. The members of the common council and their constituents, so far as your committee learns, earnestly approve these rules of procedure that place them in closer touch. The general public's participation in the consideration of franchise problems is stimulated thereby, for the advisory referendum rules give the qualified voters an opportunity to formally express their approval or disapproval of a franchise-granting ordinance before it is finally passed upon, a privilege heretofore denied the grantor—the public—but always given the grantee—the promoter or the franchise-seeking corporation. *With these rules in force the chance for the passage of ill-advised or oppressive franchise ordinances appears remote.*

The following additional points as to Detroit are by Hon. Frederick F. Ingram, in the *Direct Legislation Record.*

"Our local politics are much improved, the membership of our common council is more representative of our best citizenship, and their time is better employed in considering civic matters directly concerning the people than it was before the adoption of these rules, when much of their time was taken up listening to the bickering of the representatives of rival corporations seeking franchise privileges. One plain result of the adoption of the rules is a great growth of sentiment for municipal ownership of natural monopolies."

Toronto.

Toronto, Canada, has also emancipated itself. The questioning of candidates was through a non-partisan organization formed for the purpose, composed largely of the trade unions of the city. It is described in a later section. In the election, January 1, 1903, more than a majority of the aldermen were pledged, also the mayor. They were pledged to the advisory initiative and advisory referendum. The system, however, was not installed the first year for the promoters deemed it best to secure for the city from Parliament a special authorization to pay the cost of a referendum vote. This was secured and the measure included an authorization to all cities in the province. Then at the next municipal election the candidates were again questioned and with success. Probably the system is installed ere this time.

Waco and San Antonio.

In Texas the citizens at Waco established the advisory referendum as to franchises. It has prevented the council from extending the franchises for private ownership of the water-works system.

San Antonio also adopted the advisory system, followed by a recent amendment of the charter establishing the complete system.

Buffalo.

Last year the citizens of Buffalo asked the legislature to grant to them an advisory referendum as to franchises, but without success. Then the Buffalo Referendum League started in to secure the Winnetka system. A rule of procedure was introduced in the city council, referred to a committee and a public hearing was had. At this

hearing there were earnest arguments for the system *and not one word against it.* Says the Buffalo Enquirer of May 14th:

Not even the veriest machine politician had the nerve to go before the committee, face down the universal opinion of this city, and inveigh against an honest submission of leading local issues to the general judgment.

And on May 31st the corporation counsel is reported to have said:

I want to say that I am personally in favor of such an ordinance and will do all I can to find legal warrant for such a measure. There is no reason why the people of Buffalo should not have the right to express their opinion on any public matter. I believe if they had it would be better not only for themselves, but for the officials they elect to city offices.

A favorable opinion was filed by the corporation counsel July 1st. He held that the common council *has* implied power to enact the rule of procedure or ordinance for the advisory referendum, but that possibly the election commissioners cannot be compelled to place the referendum question on the ballot. He advised that the ordinance be passed and a test case made. *To this the common council have agreed.* A newspaper report says:

"We're all pledged to it," said Alderman Coppins, referring to anti-election speeches. Chairman Manning and Alderman McEachren and Harp voted for the ordinance. Aldermen Smith and Kennedy were absent.

The first question to be submitted is:

Shall an ordinance be adopted by the common council permitting the use of the public school buildings by citizens for the discussion of public questions upon proper restrictions?

Campaign in Pittsburg and Other Cities.

In several cities there is a movement for questioning candidates as to the emancipation of the city, for example, in Pittsburg. An active campaign was instituted in the last aldermanic campaign and will doubtless be continued until success is attained.

An Established Institution.

The successes in the several cities described have most of them been published in the proceedings of the National Municipal Ownership Convention, held in New York City last February, also in the proceedings of the League of American Municipalities, and in the proceedings of the National Municipal League. The Direct Legislation Record and other publications have noted the movement.

THUS THE QUESTIONING OF CANDIDATES IN CITIES HAS BECOME AN ESTABLISHED INSTITUTION. AT PRACTICALLY NO EXPENSE THE UNIONS OR A REFERENDUM LEAGUE QUESTION THE CANDIDATES AS TO THE IMMEDIATE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S SOVEREIGNTY AND THEREBY EMANCIPATE THE CITY FROM MACHINE RULE AND ITS ACCOMPANYING EVILS, AT THE SAME TIME STRENGTHENING THE UNION OR LEAGUE IN THE SENTIMENTS OF ITS MEMBERS AND THE PUBLIC AT LARGE AND DEMONSTRATING, ALSO, AN EFFECTIVE POLITICAL SYSTEM SEPARATE AND APART FROM PARTY POLITICS.

C. QUESTIONING OF CANDIDATES TO SUBMIT CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT FOR PEOPLE'S SOVEREIGNTY IN STATE AFFAIRS.—IMMEDIATE SUCCESS IN SEVEN STATES—FOUR STATE CONVENTIONS REVERSED.

After the Scranton convention of the American Federation of Labor and before the publication of the extra number of the official magazine, there was held the annual convention of the Missouri Federation of Labor. A resolution was adopted for the questioning of candidates, the demand being for the submission of a constitutional amendment for the referendum and the initiative. A questioning committee was provided—a Joint Committee on Direct Legislation, to consist of the legislative committee of the State Federation of Labor and a committee of three from each of the Central Unions.

So effective was this system that the state convention of the party in power, the Democratic organization, promised that if continued in office it would place before the people the desired amendment, whereas the preceding year, before the plan for questioning candidates had been adopted, the workingmen's petition for an opportunity to vote upon more power in themselves through the adoption of the referendum and the initiative was unheeded. In the words of President Behrens of the State Federation of Labor, "We might as well have addressed our petitions to wooden indians."

The Missouri system for questioning candidates was placed in print by the Non-Partisan Federation for Majority Rule, the chairman of which compiled the extra number of the *American Federationist.* This non-partisan organization mailed copies of the Missouri system to leading officers in the State Federations of Labor, and in the following states the annual convention of the Federation of Labor adopted the Missouri plan or a similar one: New Jersey, Michigan, Illinois, Iowa, Colorado, Montana and Washington probably. In three of the states, however, New Jersey, Michigan and Iowa, there was a failure to carry out the instructions to question candidates. But in Massachusetts, California, Texas and Kansas, the officers of organized labor questioned candidates. In Washington the Granges questioned candidates. In North Dakota a referendum league was organized and questioned candidates, likewise in California, while existing referendum leagues did valiant work. In Kansas the organization was the Kansas Federation for Majority Rule. In Texas the organization was on similar lines.

The result of this 1902 campaign in state affairs was inspiring: IN SEVEN STATES MORE THAN A MAJORITY IN THE LEGISLATURE WAS SECURED AND FOUR STATE CONVENTIONS OF THE PARTIES WERE REVERSED.

The explanation of this remarkable result is that the question presented, the people's right to self-government, was such that a candidate's refusal to promise to vote for it would have meant his defeat.

The state conventions whose action in 1902 was reversed by the questioning of candidates by non-partisan organizations were the Montana State Conventions of the Republican and Democratic

parties, and the Republican State Conventions of California and Missouri. These bodies refused to promise that the party if placed in power in the legislature would give the people an opportunity to vote upon an increase of power in themselves, but the subsequent questioning of candidates by the non-partisan organizations resulted in pledging more than a majority of the party in the next legislature, and the written pledges were lived up to in nearly every case.

D. ELECTION OF MEMBERS OF CONGRESS AND SENATORS IN 1902 PLEDGED TO ADVISORY INITIATIVE AND ADVISORY REFERENDUM.

In 1902 the questioning system was applied also in National Affairs. In Missouri the joint committee on direct legislation questioned the candidates for the National House and Senate. They asked,

If elected will you vote to give the people more power and at once through the advisory initiative and advisory referendum?

Of the sixteen congressmen and one senator elected *there were pledged nine of the congressmen and the senator.*

In Illinois both the candidates for the United States Senate pledged for the referendum and initiative. The pledge of the successful candidate, addressed to the secretary of the Referendum League and widely published is as follows:

I favor any principle—I care not what it may be called—that will enlarge the power of the people on all questions, state and national, that affect the well-being of the citizens.

The ease with which the national candidates were pledged is testified to by the chairman of the Missouri Questioning Committee, H. F. Sarman. In a report he said:

STRANGELY ENOUGH THE SECURING OF PLEDGES FROM CANDIDATES FOR CONGRESS IS MORE EASY THAN FOR THE LEGISLATURE!

The explanation, doubtless, is that the national questions are the hot ones, and that the individual congressmen and senators are more responsive to the popular will than are legislators and aldermen, for our party system is such that it is on national questions that public opinion is pronounced, and, besides, congressmen and senators are farthest removed from corrupting influences. Charges of graft relate most frequently to the common council, occasionally to the legislature, but seldom to congress. The power of the national special interests is through their control of party machinery.

E. WIDESPREAD MOVEMENT IN CANADA.

The movement for immediate self-emancipation has extended to Canada, with a lively interest manifested in Australia and other progressive countries. The extra number of the *American Federationist* started in Canada a movement for the application of the Winnetka system. *The Toiler*, official paper of organized labor in Toronto, explained the system in several editorials, and the Central Labor Union appointed a committee to consider the advisability of conducting a campaign in the approaching municipal election. The committee reported favorably and presented a plan to organize The Toronto Federation for Majority Rule. The plan was approved and a few dollars appropriated to start the undertaking. Other Unions and non-partisan organizations joined, contributing from one to five dollars each.

The result was the election of more than a majority of the aldermen and the mayor pledged to vote for rules of procedure for the advisory referendum and advisory initiative. Probably not more than fifty dollars was expended in the campaign. Further details are at page 79, above.

A few months later the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress declared as follows:

Resolved, That we rejoice to learn of the fact that the farmers' association of Ontario, in convention assembled, has officially accepted and endorsed the principle of direct legislation by the initiative and referendum. *Agriculture and labor having united on this important question, it must soon become an issue in practical politics.*

We are also pleased to learn that an independent direct legislation league for Ontario is being organized, its membership comprising both associations and individuals.

That this congress hereby affiliates with the Ontario Direct Legislation League for the purpose only of promoting the initiative and referendum, and that we instruct our Ontario executive to nominate a labor member of the committee of the league, if requested, such affiliation to carry with it a subscription to the funds of the league of ten dollars.

That it be a general instruction to our provincial executives *to co-operate with other associations in promoting direct legislation, and in Ontario especially with the farmers' association and the direct legislation league.*

And we recommend that our delegates should make an organized effort to pledge municipal and other candidates to support, in their councils, etc., the passage of rules of procedure providing for the adoption of the initiative and referendum; such pledging to be done, through labor unions and other associations, wherever local circumstances are favorable.

The above resolution was enacted September 23, 1903. The following January at the Toronto municipal election the Federation for Majority Rule questioned candidates again, and again the council and mayor were pledged to Majority Rule. 21 of the 23 aldermen were pledged. In other cities in Canada the movement is gaining headway.

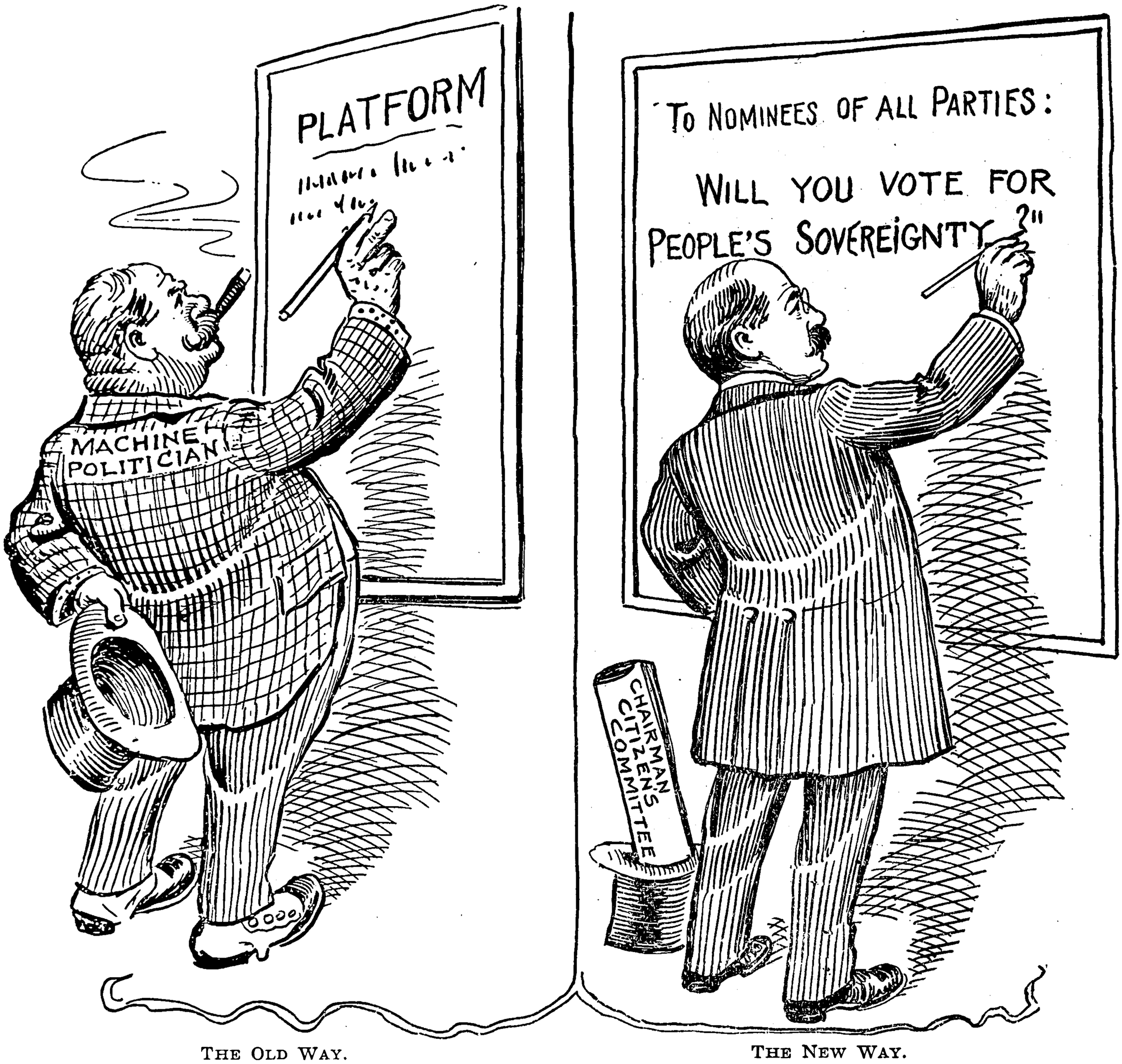
F. AUSTRALIA AND OTHER FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

To Australia, also, and to all the other progressive communities of the world there were mailed copies of the majority rule number of the *American Federationist.* The leaven is working. Letters have been published from Australia commending the questioning of candidates as to the advisory initiative. *It is seen that it is the entering wedge for the establishment of the people's rule in place of party government.*

G. NEW SYSTEM OF POLITICS—PARTY MACHINES CANNOT EVADE THE LIVE ISSUES —UNIONS KEEP OUT OF PARTY POLITICS.

Reviewing, what has been shown, it is clear that the questioning of candidates as to popular issues *is immediately successful,* PROVIDED A FEW MEN OR AN ORGANIZATION STAND READY TO TAKE THE CASE TO THE PEOPLE, OR IF THE OPPOSING CANDIDATES INTEND TO MAKE IT A LIVE ISSUE. IT FOLLOWS THAT THE USE OF THE SYSTEM TERMINATES THE PARTY MACHINE'S POWER TO EVADE THE LIVE ISSUES. Heretofore many of the vital issues, such as the termination of machine and trust rule by installing the referendum and the initiative, *have been evaded. The machines in both the great parties have refused to make it a live issue. They have refused to limit their own power. The questioning of candidates, however, is a complete and effectual remedy.* [This is illustrated in the accompanying cut.]

Such are the exact words of President Gompers in the extra number of the *American Federationist* of July 15th, 1904, and he adds:



THE OLD WAY. THE NEW WAY.

H. NATIONAL SYSTEM OF AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR FOR QUESTIONING CANDIDATES AS TO ESTABLISHMENT OF PEOPLE'S SOVEREIGNTY.

"The above facts and conclusions were presented to the New Orleans convention of the A. F. of L. in a 40 page pamphlet by the Non-Partisan Federation for Majority Rule, and the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

RESOLUTION No. 121.

Whereas, For ten years the American Federation of Labor has been declaring the need for an increase of power in the voters, to be attained by the adoption of the referendum and the initiative, that is (1) by extending the veto power of the voters so that it shall include not only the changes in the written constitution, but all the lesser changes in the laws except the usual appropriation acts and measures immediately necessary for the preservation of the public peace, health or safety, and (2) by clothing five or eight per cent. of the voters with a direct initiative; therefore,

Resolved, That the twenty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor *reaffirms the demand of the order for* MORE POLITICAL POWER IN

ITS MEMBERS AND IN THE PEOPLE AT LARGE, *and to this end demands a people's veto, the direct ballot to be called for by not to exceed five per cent of the voters; and a direct initiative by not to exceed eight per cent; and,*

Resolved, That the questioning of the legislative candidates as practiced by the state branches of the American Federation of Labor with great success in Massachusetts, Missouri, Illinois and California, is herewith recommended; and,

Resolved, That in order to secure unity of action in national affairs, the legislative or specially appointed committees of the several bodies in the American Federation of Labor, INCLUDING THE LOCAL AND CENTRAL UNIONS, SHALL CONSTITUTE COMMITTEES TO CO-OPERATE WITH THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR EXECUTIVE COUNCIL FOR SECURING AND USING A DIRECT INITIATIVE AND A PEOPLE'S VETO.

At the same convention at New Orleans a more elaborate system for non-partisan work was introduced by the delegates from Seattle and Tacoma. The resolution, Number 140, is as follows:

RESOLUTION No. 140.

Whereas, It is the universal demand of organized workingmen that such great evils and sources of danger as Oriental immigration, government by injunction, over-long and exhausting hours of labor for men and women, and involuntary servitude of children, be forbidden by national laws; and,

Whereas, Past failure to secure such laws is believed to have resulted more from the want of a definite plan which would impress upon party conventions and nominees a respect for the desires of organized labor and point out to all wage earners just what ones among those aspiring to legislative honors favored laws desired by them, than from any repugnance to laws in themselves so just and right; *therefore, as a method of instructing conventions and nominees as to the profound earnestness of purpose on the part of organized labor in asking such laws and for the purpose of enabling trades unionists to select intelligently and from among aspirants for legislative honors, be it*

Resolved, That the legislative committee of the American Federation of Labor is instructed to prepare bills concerning such legislation by congress as is desired, and especially concerning the subjects of Oriental immigration, government by injunction, eight-hour workdays, and the involuntary servitude of children; that copies of these bills when prepared shall be sent to the executive officers of each of the State Federations of Labor, where such federations exist, and in other cases to such persons or organizations as may be selected, *with instructions in each case providing that the bills for the desired legislation shall be submitted to the county conventions of all political parties with a request for an indorsement of the same by such conventions, and instructions from them to their delegates and nominees to act in accordance with such indorsement; that such further steps shall be taken as will secure the nomination by state conventions and the election by state legislatures of only such men for the house of representatives and the United States senate as are fully and satisfactorily pledged to the support of the bills prepared by the legislative committee of the American Federation of Labor; that it shall be the duty of the officers upon whom the responsibility of promoting the proposed legislation shall devolve to give the results of their work, as shown by the actions of conventions and the pledges of candidates, the greatest publicity,* TO THE END THAT ALL TRADES UNIONISTS MAY KNOW WHO THEIR FRIENDS ARE.

The leading features in both the above systems are in italics and small caps. Bear in mind that there are some 25,000 affiliated Unions, each of which is represented in the questioning of candidates as to the establishment of a national system for the advisory initiative and advisory referendum.

Besides, the organized farmers are in the movement together with other non-partisan associations.

I. ORGANIZED FARMERS ARE DECLARING FOR THE PEOPLE'S SOVEREIGNTY AND SOME ARE QUESTIONING CANDIDATES.

The farmers of the country are organized through political parties, but the control of the party machines in the leading parties is in the monopolists—the enemies of the farmer. And it is the party machines of the leading parties that nominate the successful candidates.

To overcome the power of the monopolists was one of the motives that led to the establishment of the Patrons of Husbandry in 1867, each lodge (local, county and state), being termed a Grange. *Through these granges,* declares President Hadley of Yale University, *the sentiment against railway extortion* "BECAME ALL-POWERFUL." (page 36, above). The movement started in Illinois, where a constitutional convention was secured in 1870, and the measures framed were enacted into law *by referendum vote.* In Pennsylvania a constitutional convention was secured in 1873 and the recommendations of the convention were adopted *by referendum vote.* In this way stringent regulations were framed and adopted. The successes in these states led to successful campaigning in several other states as we have already stated. In Wisconsin a majority in the legislature was secured by questioning candidates and there followed the Potter law. In Iowa there was an uprising through the legislature.

The state regulations controlling the railroads were declared constitutional by the United States Supreme Court in 1877. But seven years later the court reversed itself by prohibiting the states from controlling railroad rates where the property or passengers *were destined to another state, even though Congress had not attempted to legislate on the subject.*

In this way the railroads were emancipated from control by the states. In other words, *the Constitutional Convention and Referendum Vote* WERE GOTTEN RID OF, *for in national affairs the submission of amendments to the federal constitutions are not only difficult to get* BUT ARE NOT SUBMITTED TO A REFERENDUM VOTE.

Owing to this condition of things the railroads have been largely uncontrolled since 1884. It is true that in 1887 the Granges and other organizations induced Congress to enact the Interstate Commerce Law, but the law was of such a character that after its enactment there was a rise in railroad stocks, and then one restriction after another was removed by the supreme court, it declaring them unconstitutional. The last of the restrictions were removed by the court in 1897, and

then began the wholesale discriminations in freight rates which have resulted in a trust in practically every line of industry.

The Granges of to-day are endeavoring to help curb these mammoth trusts, as is pointed out at page 72, above. The Granger Uprising of the '70's is being repeated. The demand against Machine Rule (pages 70-71, above), must soon become unanimous, and many of the Granges are questioning candidates, see page 83, above.

J. REFERENDUM LEAGUES AND PEOPLE'S SOVEREIGNTY LEAGUES QUESTIONING CANDIDATES—AT EACH PUBLIC MEETING AN INDIVIDUAL SHOULD QUESTION.

In addition to the foregoing organizations for questioning candidates there are Direct Legislation Leagues, Referendum Leagues, People's Sovereignty Leagues, and other forms of non-partisan organization. These are questioning candidates in writing and are receiving written pledges.

Furthermore, at every public meeting during the campaign an individual in the audience should ask the candidate to state his position as to the immediate establishment of the people's sovereignty. This will force him to publicly declare himself and to do so repeatedly, the result being that whoever is elected will be so thoroughly committed to the system that he will surely vote right. But in the future as in the past the people will not rely alone upon personal honor:

CHAPTER XXX.

THE FORCES WHICH IMPEL CANDIDATES TO FULFILL WRITTEN PLEDGES.

History demonstrates that in the United States, England and other progressive countries there are a multitude of forces which impel representatives to observe in some degree, at least, the principles of popular government. One of these forces is *physical force*—the court of last resort. Representatives always realize that physical force is in the background and will come forward whenever they attempt to act high-handedly beyond endurance. For example, in Illinois, the Speaker of the last House attempted to pass a bill against the will of the majority of the members and they rose up and drove him from his desk, elected a presiding officer and proceeded with business. (See page 24 above). This revolution is a sample of Anglo-Saxon spirit, inherited from our ancestors.

A few months after the defeat of the monopolists in the Illinois legislature they were defeated in the Chicago Common Council and by tactics somewhat similar. The people learned that the monopolists were about to purchase enough votes to pass an ordinance for an extension of the street railway franchise and Henry D. Lloyd proposed to the Chicago Federation of Labor a resolution calling upon all good citizens to attend the council meetings. The resolution was adopted, though Mr. Lloyd did not live to participate in the meeting, for a cold which he took while at the federation meeting, having gotten up from a sick-bed to attend, resulted in his death. The plan, however, worked successfully. The aldermen grumbled because the people stood ready to protect their interests and the newspapers decried the people's attendance, *but the franchise grabbers did not attempt to complete the proposed steal.*

In the United States Senate, too, there has been a continual threat by the minority to use physical force should there be an attempt to take away their constitutional right of debate, which has existed from the establishment of the government. Leading members of the minority party while not openly stating it have told the opposition that blood would flow should there be an attempt to take away this constitutional right.

And in Kansas and Nebraska the people secured the election of anti-railroad senators some years ago because a few determined farmers attended the legislature to see to it that representatives should heed their pledges. If members of the legislature had attempted to violate their pledges there would have been trouble and they knew it.

These facts, combined with other conditions favorable to the establishment of the people's sovereignty ensure its consummation and without bloodshed. *A majority of the members of Congress and the other legislative bodies will be instructed,* AND THEN THE WHOLE BODY OF PUBLIC SENTIMENT WILL INSIST THAT THE WRITTEN PLEDGES BE LIVED UP TO. THE PEOPLE WILL UNITEDLY DEMAND THAT THE WILL OF THE MAJORITY SHALL PREVAIL. THAT IS THE GREAT STRENGTH OF POPULAR GOVERNMENT.

Thus will the people's sovereignty be established without civil war or hint of such a thing.

But were the contest between party machines instead of a change to the Referendum System in combination with Congress, the result would likely be civil war, judging from the nearness to civil war in the contest over the count in 1876, 1884 and 1896, and the existing civil war in Colorado. We believe that nothing short of a square contest on the right to re-establish self-government can secure a peaceable restoration of the system. *By focusing attention on the needed changes in the system of government nothing can withstand the aroused interest of the people.* In the wordss of Bryce's American Commonwealth:

> Towering over presidents and state governors, over congress and state legislatures, over conventions and the vast machinery of party, Public Opinion stands out, in the United States, as the great source of power, the master of servants who tremble before it.

Reviewing this division of our subject, Book V, there is clearly seen the line of least resistance for the establishment of the People's Sovereignty. In State affairs it is the questioning of candidates for the legislature as to the submission of a *constitutional amendment,* for in this the candidates are not asked as to their opinion of the proposed change but only the simple question, Will you let the people discuss the proposed increase of power in themselves and vote upon it?

In City affairs the line of least resistance is not to wait until the entire State is aroused and organized but to question the candidates for aldermen and mayor—question them, If elected will you vote to free the city and at once?

In National affairs the easiest way to overthrow Trustocracy is to question candidates as to installing the Advisory Initiative and Advisory Referendum. Details of the system are in the following pages.

BOOK VI.
THE NON-PARTISAN CAMPAIGN OF 1904.

CHAPTER XXXI.

POLITICAL CAMPAIGN OF AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

Application of National System, 1903, 1904.

In the foregoing sections there is outlined some of the results caused by the action of the American Federation of Labor at its annual convention in 1901 and the publication of the extra number of the American Federationist, January 1902. At the next convention of the American Federation of Labor, November, 1902. there was provided a national system for questioning candidates as to the referendum and initiative and such other public measures as should be deemed of great importance, page 82, above.

The system was applied the following year, 1903. The President of the American Federation of Labor, Samuel Gompers, issued an address to the 25,000 affiliated Unions, enclosing copies of the two measures in Congress upon which the wage-earners were centering their efforts, a bill to restore trial by jury and prevent legislation by the United States judges—"anti-injunction" is the technical name of the measure, and the other bill is for the eight-hour day in government contract work. No general election was at hand, therefore the address was as follows:

Branches are urged to send these bills to each of the United States Senators from their state and the congressman from their district, impressing upon them the great interest which your union feels in the enactment of these bills into laws at the forthcoming session of congress, and requesting their support and vote in favor of these bills being placed upon the statute books of our country.

Copies of these bills should also be forwarded to any one, irrespective of party, aspiring to a nomination for congress, and accompanying it with a respectful, but insistent letter or resolution for a favorable reply.

For years we have been thwarted in our effort to secure the enactment of these just and beneficent measures, *and an opportunity presents itself now* FOR MORE UNITED ACTION, *which, if availed of, will without doubt lead to success.*

In the interest of our fellow-workers and for the cause of right now and for the future, every organization is requested to take prompt and favorable action upon the above matters.

Following are the two bills in full.

Counting upon your co-operation, and hoping and working for success, I am,

Fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President American Federation of Labor.

Since the issuance of the above address an election of congressmen has not yet occurred. but the address stimulated the presentation of memorials and other expressions of opinion. Preparatory to this year's election of congressmen and members of legislatures the following address and questions are being presented by the unions in each district:

ADDRESS AND QUESTIONS TO CANDIDATES FOR CONGRESS.

SUBMITTED BY AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND AFFILIATED UNIONS.

Mr. .....

Candidate for Congress.

DEAR SIR:—The time is at hand when the American people are about to select legislative agents. You are asking the people of this district to commission you as their agent in the National House of Representatives. This entitles them to ask as to your attitude on the burning questions of the day. Preparatory to asking you these questions, permit us to outline the political evils of the day, first as to

GOVERNMENT BY INJUNCTION.

Government by injunction is that system of government which came into being with the new uses to which the injunction was put.

These new uses of the injunction have resulted, first, in the abolition of trial by jury in certain cases, which is being gradually extended as occasion requires; second, the system prevents a review of the facts by higher courts, and third, a new legislative system is installed by judges whereby certain acts which in themselves are perfectly lawful are declared unlawful. Incidentally, the system abolishes indictment. Furthermore, one becomes a criminal prisoner as a result of a mere filing of a civil suit by an attorney of a corporation interested, coupled with an order by a judge. In this proceeding there are no witnesses and no appearance of the defendant or his counsel. This is neither better nor worse than Russian des-

potism, and it has gone so far that in Colorado men are banished without any sort of trial, after having been rounded up like so many cattle.

As you are a candidate for congress we desire to ask you and your replies will be given the widest possible publicity:

QUESTION NO. 1.—*If elected will you actively assist in enacting legislation for the termination of government by injunction, the details of the measure to be those of our anti-injunction bill in congress, copy of which we enclose?*

Answer.....

EIGHT-HOUR DAY IN GOVERNMENT CONTRACT WORK.

The inventions of modern times and other favorable conditions have shortened the working day for nearly all the people. In most of the clerical positions under the United States government the working day is seven hours. In construction work by the general government the workday is eight hours. This rule was adopted by congress in 1868. It was held, however, that this regulation applied only to direct employment. Then the law was amended during Mr. Cleveland's term so that it applied to contractors and subcontractors for government work. But the attorneys-general have held that this second law, which plainly applies to contractors and subcontractors, applied only to such work *as is done upon government property.* It followed, of course, that much of the contract work is done on property adjoining the government grounds, thus evading the law. To put an end to this evasion is the purpose of the eight-hour bill now in congress, and which has been favorably reported during the last three congresses and each time passed by the House of Representatives by a practically unanimous vote. We ask you. sir—

QUESTION NO. 2.—*If elected will you actively assist in passing legislation for an eight-hour day in government contract work, the details of the measure to be those we have been and are asking for in congress, and copy of which we enclose?*

Answer.....

GUARDED REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT—SOVEREIGNTY IN THE PEOPLE.

Representative government is a comparatively modern institution. It did not exist at the time of the Roman Republic or Empire. It is a product of the people of central and northern Europe and resulted from their splendid spirit of liberty.

Representative government is of two forms, that in which the people's sovereignty is guarded, or partially guarded. Guarded representative government is that system in which the voters possess a veto power and a direct initiative. This makes them the sovereign power. Without this people's veto and direct initiative the ruling power is in the few, as is evidenced by the facts which we herewith present.

RULE OF THE FEW IS EVIDENCED BY SPECIAL PRIVILEGES.

That the few are the ruling power in this country is evidenced by the laws enacted—laws which grant SPECIAL PRIVILEGES. One form of these is private monopolies in transportation, such as railroads and the telegraph; and private monopolies in raw materials, such as coal, iron, salt, etc.; and private monopolies in manufature and trade secured through the monopolies in transportation and raw material. The monopoly of a lower transportation rate than one's competitors get forces them out of business and so does the monopoly of raw material. So rapid is the increase in the monopolies of raw material and transportation rates that if the system continues a while longer it will result in monopoly in every line of manufacture and trade.

The system through which the few are thus monopolizing the country is a two-faced system of government—a diarchy, an analysis of which is as follows:

RULE OF THE FEW THROUGH DECEPTION.

Primarily the system of government in this country is republican in form—the people are declared to be the sovereign power, *yet the representative system that is actually erected by the federal and state constitutions does not guard the people's sovereignty*—there is no people's veto nor is there a direct initiative, except in South Dakota and Oregon. The real sovereignty is in the few who seek special-privilege legislation *and for that purpose invest money to control the political machines,* which means a host of political evils, among which is the making of the modern "grafters." Where no one is seeking special-privilege legislation there are no grafters. And where the people's sovereignty is guarded there are no legislative privileges to seek.

Furthermore, popular forms of government are openly repudiated.

OPEN REPUDIATION OF POPULAR FORMS OF GOVERNMENT.

Government by injunction exists, some of the manifold evils of which we have described, and two legislatures in Utah and one each in Illinois and Colorado have openly refused to obey the people's instruction through referendum vote.

REMEDY FOR SOVEREIGNTY IN THE CORPORATIONS.

The remedy for the rule of the corporations is for the people to guard their sovereignty by establishing a right to a direct vote on public questions through the initiative and referendum.

This is successfully accomplished in South Dakota and Oregon, and in the cities we hereinafter mention, and successfully installed in Switzerland; partially installed in every state in the union, and a start has been made in national affairs.

The remedy, then, for the rule of the monopolists is completely demonstrated and has been for many years. Why the system has not been installed more rapidly is readily explained: it is the difficulty in ousting the ruling few. To change the sovereignty from the few to the many is a mighty task. The powerful few do not retire voluntarily. They control the political machines of the two great parties, while third parties have not declared that the establishment of the people's sovereignty is the dominant issue.

But a new power has arisen: it is the systematic questioning of candidates as to the dominant issue, THEREBY PREVENTING EACH CANDIDATE FROM EVADING THE ISSUE AND HIS SELF-INTEREST RESULTS IN

A WRITTEN PLEDGE—a pledge that if the voters of the district will elect him to office he will vote to protect their sovereignty. Should a candidate openly refuse to promise it would defeat him and he knows it.

This non-partisan system was used extensively by organized labor in several states and cities in 1902 and with telling effect. A majority in six legislatures were pledged, the action of four state conventions of the two great parties was reversed, nine of the sixteen congressmen from Missouri were pledged, also the newly elected senators from Missouri and Illinois, while several cities freed themselves.

This system was approved by the A. F. of L., and it has established a national system for questioning candidates. The 25,000 affiliated unions, with 2,000,000 members, are correlated into one great system to protect and promote their own interests, as well as those of all the people.

Thus the wage-earners in cities are organized to assist in establishing the sovereignty of the people, while in the rural districts the work is attended to by organized farmers, referendum leagues and majority-rule federations. The day of evasions by candidates is past. The vital issues are at the front.

LINE OF LEAST RESISTANCE FOR TERMINATION OF THE RULE OF THE FEW.

Experience during 1902 and since then has demonstrated the line of least resistance for terminating the rule of the few.

In the cities the line of least resistance is questioning candidates for the common council as to whether, if elected, they will vote to establish a system whereby the voters may, if they so desire, instruct the members of the common council concerning the granting of franchises for city monopolies (the Advisory Referendum) to be immediately installed through rules of procedure in the common council. This system is in sucessful operation in Winnetka, Ill.; Detroit, Mich., and other cities.

In the states the line of least resistance is to question the candidates for the legislature whether, if elected, they will vote to submit to the people of the state the question of adopting a constitutional amendment for more power in themselves through a people's veto and direct initiative. This is the system successfully applied in 1902 in Missouri, Colorado, California, Montana, North Dakota and Illinois. But as half the senators held over from the preceding election and a two-thirds vote is required for the submission of a constitutional amendment, it requires this year's pledging of candidates to obtain the necessary two-thirds vote, except in Missouri, where the state convention of the dominant party pledged for the amendment.

In the nation, the line of least resistance is—

1. To question the candidates for the National House whether, if elected, they will vote to establish a system whereby the voters may instruct, if they so desire, concerning bills which one or both houses have passed (the Advisory Referendum) to be installed at the opening of the next congress by means of rules of procedure supplemented by a statute of congress and supplemented by the establishment of referendum machinery in the several states for voting on national questions, which laws in the states are being provided for by questioning the candidates for the several legislatures.

2. Also to question the candidates for the National House as to voting for an Advisory Initiative, the details of which are explained in an accompanying document.

3. To question the candidates for the legislatures whether, if elected, they will vote only for such candidates for the United States Senate as are pledged to vote for the Advisory Referendum and Advisory Initiative; and whether said candidates for the legislature will vote to instruct the hold-over senators to immediately cast their ballots for the above described system; and whether the candidates for the legislature will vote to enact a statute authorizing five per cent. of the people of the state to call for a special election to instruct the hold-over senators should they refuse to obey the instructions of the legislature.

As you are a candidate for the National House, we ask you—

QUESTION NO. *3.—Will you, if elected, vote to immediately establish in the nation an efficient system whereby the people may instruct their national representatives, the system to consist of the advisory initiative and advisory referendum until a constitutional amendment can be brought forward under this people's initiative and acted upon; the details of the advisory system to conform to the measures we herewith enclose, subject to such minor changes as may be agreed to by the legislative committees of the American Federation of Labor and National Grange? Bear in mind that a refusal to promise to vote for an efficient system whereby the people may instruct their representatives will be a flat-footed and open repudiation of the people's right to self-government.*

Answer.....

QUESTION NO. *4.—If the people of this district select you as their agent in the House of Representatives, will you vote as they by referendum ballot may instruct?*

Answer.....

The establishment of the proposed system of advisory initiative and advisory referendum will restore the people's power and liberate congress from "machine" rule.

FINAL WORD.

The people of this congressional district are considering whom they shall elect to represent them in the national congress. Their interests are to be entrusted to an agent whose power to bind them is absolute and irrevocable for two years and who, if he faithfully carries out the duties of his position, must withstand the people's enemies and help control them. Therefore, while you and your competitors are asking the people to choose between you, we ask, and have a right to ask, if elected, how will you vote on the great issues?

Will you vote against government by injunction by voting for the bill we have presented?

Will you vote for the eight-hour bill?

Will you vote for the people's sovereignty by voting to establish in the people a right to a direct vote on public questions?

To each of the questions asked we would like a clear-cut yes or no. If you or any other candidate

refuse to come out for the people, squarely, openly, and in writing signed by yourself, we shall give the facts the widest possible publicity in your district, and there will be held, if need be, a series of meetings in which there will be discussed the need for election of candidates who are pledged to abolish the rule of the few. Voters' non-partisan agreements, such as we enclose, will be circulated, setting forth the attempt to openly substitute throughout the United States the old-world system of sovereignty in the few. For the first time since the war of the Revolution the issue is that of the people's right to self-government.

It should be clear that the conditions in this district are such that no candidate can longer defeat the people's sovereignty. We do not for an instant infer that you are against the establishment of a government that will represent the people's interests, but we state the case plainly for we are thoroughly in earnest.

Please let us hear from you at your earliest opportunity. A refusal to reply during the next 10 days will be a negative to our questions, and we shall govern ourselves accordingly.

Respectfully yours,

.....

(Central Labor Union.)

By

.....

Chairman of Legislative Com.

BLANK FORM FOR REPLY.
(Detach and Mail.)

Mr. .....

Chairman of Legislative Committee.

DEAR SIR: Replying to the questions in your letter, I desire to make the following answers: To Question 1, my answer is .....; Question No. 2, ...; Question No. 3, ...; and Question No. 4, ...

I remain, sir, very respectfully yours,

.....

Candidate for Congress.

Dated ....., 1901.

Such is the address and questions to candidates for congress by the 25,000 Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. In every city and every town of any size the candidates are being questioned by the Unions. In the rural districts there is questioning by the Granges and by People's Sovereignty Leagues.

Immediately following the above address and questions the American Federation of Labor has printed the following instructions:

INSIST ON PLEDGES.

Do not let any candidate "bluff you off" or evade the issue by telling you the law prohibits him from making a pledge. The law does no such thing. If it did no political party would dare make promises in its platform, and no candidate would dare pledge himself to carry out those promises. But you know they do, every election.

What the constitution in most states declares is that a man who sells his vote, or contracts to sell it, can be challenged and kept from voting (for example, 1874 amendment to New York constitution, Art. II, Sec. 2), and the candidate who pays a bribe or promises one can not be seated if he heeds the oath of office (for example, 1874 amendment to New York constitution, Art. XII, sec, 1, re-enacted in 1894 constitution, Art. XIII, Sec. 1). But every candidate is expected to and does declare to the voters of the district how he will vote on public questions if they will elect him.

THE ISSUE.

Remember that the issue is the establishment of the people's sovereignty. It is not a labor question only, nor simply a question of capitalism, but a question of monopoly. Shall the monopoly of the political power of the country be in all the people or continued in the ruling few? It is the people against the monopolists.

Address and Questions to Candidates for Legislatures.

SUBMITTED BY AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND AFFILIATED UNIONS.

....., 1904.

Mr. .....

.....

Candidate for the Legislature.

DEAR SIR:

You are asking the people of the district to select you as their representative in the legislature. This entitles them to ask you as to your attitude on the issues in which they are interested and by which they are affected—the burning questions of the day. Preparatory to doing this permit us to outline the basis of the political evils of the day, which we do in the accompanying address and questions to candidates for congress, which we invite you to read, and to do so at once, that you may realize the far-reaching importance of the questions we are to ask.

Solution of Burning National Questions.

The burning questions of the day are NATIONAL, *for our country has developed to where the railroads and all the other great corporations are interstate, therefore nothing short of interstate law will suffice.*

In the settlement of these great national issues the members of the legislatures are vital factors. They elect United States senators, and therefore can pledge them to vote to abolish government by injunction and to install the eight-hour day in government contract work and to install the advisory initiative and advisory referendum; secondly, the members of the legislature can *instruct* the hold-over senators—instruct them to vote for these three measures, and, thirdly, the members of the legislature can vote to establish by state law the machinery for verifying signatures to national petitions and for taking a referendum vote whenever congress shall so decide. To that end we ask you, sir—

QUESTION NO. *1.—If elected, will you vote only for such candidate or candidates for the United States Senate as have promised in writing to vote to abolish government by injunction, to install the eight-hour day in government contract work and to install the advisory initiative and advisory referendum, the details to conform to the measures we herewith enclose, subject to such minor changes in the last-mentioned system as may be agreed to by the legislative committees of the A. F. of* L. *and the National Grange?*

Answer.....

QUESTION NO. *2.—If elected, will you vote to instruct the hold-over senators—instruct them to vote for the above described measures?*

Answer.....

QUESTION NO. *3.—If elected, will you help to enact a statute whereby five per cent. of the voters of the state, calculated on the basis of the last vote for governor, may call a special election for a referendum vote on a proposition to instruct United States senators if one or both of them shall fail to obey the legislature's instruction?*

Answer.....

QUESTION NO. *4.—Do you promise that if elected you will help to enact a statute that shall supply the machinery for verifying signatures to national petitions, and the taking of a referendum vote when so decided by congress, the details to conform to the measure we herewith submit, subject to such minor changes as may be agreed to by the legislative committees of the A. F. of* L. *and the National Grange?*

Answer.....

Establishment of People's Sovereignty in State and Municipal Affairs.

(The following address and questions as to state and municipal issues are recommended to the executive committee of each state federation of labor except where the referendum is submitted or is installed.)

Turning to state and municipal issues you are aware that the people of this commonwealth are suffering from the domination of state and municipal machines, the results of which are special privilege corporations controlled by the few. Another result is graft.

The remedy is nothing less than a change in the system. This means the establishment of the people's sovereignty in place of the ruling few, which will be accomplished by installing a people's veto and a direct initiative. Leading up to questions on these points we desire to say:

The American system of government is founded on the proposition that the people are the sovereign power, who possess, therefore, the acknowledged right to make the constitution of a state and amend it.

Such is the fundamental law of the state and we ask you, sir—

QUESTION NO. *5.—Do you recognize this fundamental principle of free government? If so, do you promise us and the electors who may vote for you that, if elected, you will vote to give the people of the state an opportunity to ballot upon a constitutional amendment for an increase of power in themselves, by extending the people's veto (through the optional referendum), and by adopting a direct initiative (in addition to the indirect system which now exists), the details of both to accord with the specifications which are enclosed? Bear in mind that the question is not as to the merits of the proposed system, but only the plain qucstion, Will you recognize the people's long-established right to decide for themselves the question of adopting or rejecting it?*

Answer.....

QUESTION NO. *6.—Will you, if elected, vote for the enactment of a law expressly authorizing common councils, village boards and county boards to order an advisory referendum vote?*

Answer.....

Final Word.

Reviewing the above it is seen that the whole thing simmers down to a question of restoring and improving popular government and establishing the eight-hour day in contract work of the national government.

To each of the questions asked we would like a clear-cut "yes" or "no." If you or any other candidate refuse to come out for the people, squarely, and openly in writing signed by yourself, we shall take the steps described in our letter to congressional candidates.

Please let us hear from you at your earliest opportunity. A refusal to reply during the next ten days will be a negative to our questions and we shall govern ourselves accordingly.

Respectfully yours,

.....

(Central Labor Union.)

By

.....

Chairman of Legislative Committee,

BLANK FORM FOR REPLY.
(Detach and Mail.)

Hon. .....
Chairman of Legislative Committee,

DEAR SIR: Replying to the questions in your letter I desire to make the folowing answers: To Question No. 1, my answer is.....; Question No. 2, ...; Question No. 3, ...; Question No. 4, ...; Question No. 5, ...; and Question No. 6, ...

I remain, sir, very respectfully yours,

.....
Candidate for the Legislature.

Dated ....., 1904.

The foregoing are the addresses and questions to legislative candidates by the American Federation of Labor and affiliated Unions.

DETAILS OF A. F. OF L. SYSTEM OF QUESTIONING CANDIDATES.

The system for presenting the addresses and questions to candidates is described in the letters which the national organization has mailed to the Central and Local Unions. To central bodies the following letter was sent:

LETTER TO CENTRAL BODIES.
Please Read to Union.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *July 15, 1904.*

DEAR SIRS AND BROS.: The A. F. of L. provides a system for notifying conventions and questioning legislative candidates, and the resolutions instruct that the system be applied toward the enactment of our national anti-injunction bill, national eight-hour bill, and the installation of the initiative and referendum in national affairs. The time has arrived for applying the system. Questions have been prepared for presentation to the legislative candidates of the several parties, a sample copy of which accompanies this letter.

Copies for presentation to the candidates for congress and the legislature in your district will be supplied to your legislative committee *upon receipt by us of the name and address of the chairman.* KINDLY INSTRUCT THE CHAIRMAN TO WRITE FOR COPIES FOR QUESTIONING CANDIDATES AND TO PRESENT THEM, also to report progress at each regular meeting of the union.

If the questioning of candidates is heartily pushed by all the unions, there is an excellent prospect for success.

Please keep me advised of the work done by your central body and what progress is being made.

Fraternally yours,
[SEAL] SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President American Federation of Labor.

LETTERS TO LOCAL BODIES.

To the local unions in the cities where a central body exists the following instructions were issued:

The central union of your city has been requested to direct its legislative committee to present the questions to the several legislative candidates in the district and to report to the central body at each regular meeting until election day.

It is desirable that your union be directly represented on the questioning committee, *and to that end you are requested to name one of your number as committee-man and to instruct him to report at each regular meeting of your union until election day.*

A different instruction was issued to the locals where no central body exists. The instruction was this:

Kindly direct the chair to appoint a committee of three, unless you already have a legislative committee, also instruct the chairman to write for copies of the questions and to present them to the candidates, also to report progress at each regular meeting until election day.

Under this system a report by the legislative committee or member thereon is a regular order of business. This will tend to keep the committee at work or lead to the appointment of another chairman. At the same time it will keep alive the interest of the organization.

SUGGESTIONS TO CHAIRMAN OF QUESTIONING COMMITTEE.

In mailing the question blanks to the chairman of the legislative committees, the national organization inserted a leaflet giving suggestions as to how the non-partisan campaign should be conducted.

Provision for nomination by petition on the one great issue of the People's Sovereignty versus Trustocracy is provided for in case the leading candidates refuse to pledge. See below, Chapter 34. *The mere existence of this system will probably be effective, for party candidates will not knowingly go to a probable defeat.*

The foregoing political program of organized labor is approved by all who oppose the monopolists, and is execrated by the monopolists and their editorial writers.

Henry George, Jr., one of the ablest and most vigorous writers among the anti-monopolists, writes as follows in his usual half-page in the *Sunday North American* of Philadelphia, August 21st:

No more important number of *The American Federationist* has ever been issued than the extra number of July 15th, relative to the questioning of candidates and pledging them for the principles of initiative and referendum. * * * Whatever may be said of the reckless disregard of such legislative bodies as that of Colorado, which in face of the clearest political promises and in flat conflict with direct constitutional mandates succumbed to the baleful and nugatory influence of monopoly powers, *Congress is still susceptible*

to expressions of popular will, and most of the constituent members of that body are easily within reach of any considerable number of voters in their respective districts. Trade unions are large numerically, and consequently command many votes. LET PROOF BE GIVEN THAT THE MEMBERS OF THE UNION WILL HANG TOGETHER IN RESPECT TO THIS OR THAT MATTER, AND THEN THE EXPRESSED WISH OF THE UNION WILL SOUND LIKE A TOCSIN TO THE CANDIDATE, OMINOUS OF DANGER TO HIS POLITICAL HOPES IF HE SHALL REFUSE TO GIVE HEED.

The advisory initiative and advisory referendum, declares Henry George,

would give every working man as a member of a trade union, a vital interest in political questions and in the enactments of legislatures *without raising party prejudices and shibboleths, and in that way, working to the detriment of the union organizations as organizations.*

The president of the National Federation of Teachers, Miss Margaret A. Haley, writes:

I am delighted to see the American Federation of Labor taking up this question of initiative and referendum. Please send me 25 more copies of the extra number of *The American Federationist.*

The monopolists, on the other hand, are raging. The *New York Times*, in an editorial, declares the questioning of candidates to be

a monumental piece of impertinence.

This indicates the extent to which popular government is spurned!

The *Iron Age* for August, the leading review of the iron and steel trade in the United States and therefore in close touch with the Steel Trust and other trusts, devotes its leading editorial to the non-partisan program of organized labor. Under the caption "Labor Leaders Coercing Candidates" it says:

The labor leaders may find that the great majority of candidates will resent this attempt to interfere with their independence on *non-political questions.* [Original not italicized.]

This is only one of the fallacies in the editorial. It also says:

It is simply another attempt to accomplish by duress that which the community [the "machine"] has steadfastly refused to grant.

This use of "community" is amusing, as also is "non-political questions."

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE GRANGE SYSTEM OF NON-PARTISAN POLITICS.

Grange Has Prospered Because of Non-Partisan Methods.

"Survival of the fittest" is a principle with which we are all familiar. The continued existence and growth of the Granges of the Patrons of Husbandry is an indication that the organization is fitted to existing conditions. An inquiry as to wherein this organization differs from other associations of farmers that have lived for a time and perished, reveals its strong features. The most prominent is that the Granges *are strictly non-partisan.* While discussing questions of public policy and exerting for desired legislation the full strength of the membership vote, they have refrained from nominating candidates or endorsing the platform or nominees of a political party. *But the Farmers' Alliance went into party politics* AND PERISHED. This occurred because party politics is such that some of the farmers are members of each party. Where an organization is started on the broad lines of farming interests and then goes into party politics, it splits the organization.

But where the organization declares itself as to measures instead of men and the measures declared for are those *on which the farmers are agreed*, the result is helpful to the organization. It attracts attention, and the farmers are benefited. All through the reports of the National and State Granges there is much emphasis as to legislation secured.

Certain measures, however, have been left severely alone, as is seen in these reports. For example, the report of the Worthy Master of the Pennsylvania State Grange, W. F. Hill, for 1901, says:

In the work of the legislative committee for protecting and advancing the interests of agriculture, care was exercised that only such positions were taken upon the oleo, tax, and other questions as would by their fairness *appeal to* ALL *right-thinking people.*

This is the attitude, I believe, of all the State and National Granges. Only such measures are demanded as appeal to practically all the farmers.

After the measures are declared for in annual convention the legislative committee informs the political leaders, including the conventions and nominees, as to the legislative demands of organized farmers. An example of this is found in the proceedings of the National Grange for 1902, wherein it is said:

The legislative committee of the National Grange issued a statement *immediately following the close of the session* setting forth the legislative platform of the organization.

In this way the demands of organized farmers were placed before the several party leaders, party conventions and candidates.

After notice of the Grange platform is given and the party machines and candidates have made answer, the next step on the part of the legislative committee of the Grange is to bring these answers to the knowledge of the Grange members.

It appears, then, that the Grange Legislative Committee accomplishes two principal things, the demands of the Grange are brought to the attention of the party machines and the answer of each is laid before the farmers.

RESULTS.

Remarkable success has resulted. Thirty years ago the Grange leadership resulted in state control of railway rates. During the '80's the Grange was one of the chief instruments in securing the passage of an interstate commerce law. In recent times the Grange has brought about rural free delivery of mails; it has secured laws prohibiting the imitation of dairy products; it has helped to

secure the Isthmian canal bill, and has helped to defeat the ship subsidy bill. The three last-mentioned successes in national affairs were achieved during the past two years.

In state affairs the results are equally satisfactory. In Michigan the Grange "is recognized as wielding the strongest influence upon public affairs of any power that exists within the state." (Report to National Grange, 1902).

In Pennsylvania the report of Worthy Master Hill for 1901 says:

It is along legislative lines that we take special pride in our accomplishments. The Legislative Committee of the State Grange has been tireless in its efforts and they merit and are given great praise for their accomplishments.

Source of Power in Non-Partisan Politics.

The source of this great political strength in state and nation is that *the farmers are in* BOTH *the great parties and constitute a balance of power.* THEREFORE WHEN THEY UNITE UPON A MEASURE IT WINS. The farmers united against the imitators of dairy products and won; they demanded a rural free delivery of mails on the same permanent footing as the delivery of mail of the cities and won; they demanded a law for the curtailment of the extortions of the railways and won; and they fought the ship subsidy and won. Without organization the farmers could not have secured their rights. *And it was the refusal to nominate candidates,* THEREBY CENTERING UPON MEASURES INSTEAD OF MEN, that won out. By agreeing upon measures and serving notice upon the conventions and candidates of both parties, it compelled them to accede to the farmers' demand or be defeated. *Thus the farmers won their fight before public speaking began.*

Of course the Grange is careful, as we have elsewhere pointed out, to push only such measures as are clearly just, and so plainly equitable that if opposed by a candidate he would be defeated.

Party Government Terminated to Extent That Grange Succeeds.

To realize something as to the full meaning of the Grange success through non-partisan politics, one must bear in mind that *to the extent that the Grange declares for popular measures it takes from the party machines the power to evade these issues.* In other words, it terminates party government to the extent that the non-partisan organization declares for popular measures and stands ready to defeat those who oppose the demands. The power to take the case to the voters is the balance of power.

The remarkable growth of machine rule in recent times is causing the Grange and other non-partisan organizations to develop their political power:

PRESENT DAY PROGRAMS.

Many of the legislative committees of to-day are communicating directly with the candidates before nomination time, and after the conventions are held they question such of the nominees as are not on record. Then the replies of candidates are placed before the members of the Granges and the public in general. Such further action is taken as the committee may decide upon. "Voters' agreements" can be circulated, a sample of which is published as Appendix VI. Public meetings can be held under the auspices of the order, care being taken to strictly limit the discussion to the measures demanded by the Order. BUT THE MERE EXISTENCE OF THESE WEAPONS IS NEARLY ALWAYS EFFECTIVE IF THE CANDIDATES KNOW ABOUT THEM, FOR THEY SHAPE THEIR COURSE TO SECURE AN ELECTION.

Washington Grange System.

The non-partisan system of the Washington Grange, established in 1902, is as follows:

Be it Resolved, That our Worthy Master of the Washington State Grange be requested to appoint a *Grange Committee in each county where there is an organized Grange.* The duties of said committee shall be to interview the various legislative candidates and to persuade them to use their best efforts, if elected to the legislature, to secure the passage of a bill to amend the state constitution providing for direct legislation, which shall be submitted to the people, as required by the state constitution.

This plan was so effective that the next year (1903) it was continued and strengthened, the following recommendation of the legislative committee being unanimously adopted by the State Grange:

We ask our patrons to see to it that *none but those pledged to direct legislation receive their support at the convention or at the polls.*

This vigorous action along non-partisan lines has helped to build up the organization. *The membership increased 47 per cent. during the next year.* The State Grange of 1904 directed that the questioning of candidates be continued, *and another forward step has been taken by offering to co-operate with organized labor in questioning candidates for the submission of a constitutional amendment for the abolition of machine rule*— the establishment of a people's veto and direct initiative.

Pennsylvania Grange System.

In Pennsylvania an effective co-operation between organized farmers and organized wage-earners *is actually in operation.* The last state convention of each organization instructed that the candidates for the legislature be questioned as to the submission of a constitutional amendment for a people's veto and direct initiative. And July 27th the executive and legislative committees of the State Grange decided to co-operate with the American Federation of Labor toward the securing of a people's veto and direct initiative in national affairs.

The Pennsylvania Granges are not confining themselves to the securing of a people's veto and direct initiative, as is the Labor Federation of Pennsylvania. Since early spring the Granges have been asking four questions of the candidates for the legislature:

1. That trolley lines in Pennsylvania be authorized to carry freight;
2. That all classes of property shall bear an equitable share in building and maintaining good roads;

3. That a constitutional amendment for a people's veto and direct initiative be submitted; and,

4. That part of the local taxes which now go into the state treasury shall be left with the municipalities.

The questions to Candidates for Congress submitted last spring are,

1. That the tariff shall be so adjusted that American citizens can buy American products as cheaply at home as they are sold abroad;

2. That a postal savings bank shall be established, and,

3. That the postoffice shall carry parcels larger than four pounds.

Since July 27th there have been issued by the State Grange supplemental questions as to the referendum and initiative in national affairs. The questions are those asked by the American Federation of Labor. The letter to candidates is as follows:

Hon._____

Candidate for Congress.

Dear Sir:

Since addressing you the three questions as to national measures advocated by the Grange, a fourth question has become prominent, the referendum and initiative in national affairs. We desire to learn your attitude that we may publish the same to the Patrons of Husbandry in this district and to all other citizens. You are asking the people of this district to commission you as their agent in the national house and it is highly desirable that your attitude as to the leading questions may become widely known. Please let us hear from you at an early day. A refusal to reply during the next ten days will be a negative to our questions and we shall so publish it to the voters in the district. Very respectfully yours,

_____

_____

_____

Grange Legislative Committee.

This letter and accompanying questions, also the details of the proposed advisory initiative and advisory referendum in national affairs, are published by the Legislative Committee of the State Grange and copies are forwarded into each county.

There are two forms of county organizations. In part of the state there is a County Committee composed of the legislative committee of the Pomona (county) Grange, and one from each of the Subordinate (local) Granges. Where there is no Pomona organization the chairman of the county committee on questioning candidates is the Deputy.

The other form of county organization for questioning candidates is a legislative committee appointed by the Pomona Grange, and a legislative committee named by each Subordinate Grange, with an endeavor on the part of the Subordinate committees to work in harmony with the Pomona committee, which aims to keep in close touch with the State Committee.

The questions are presented by the chairman, and "when the replies are all in or a reasonable time to hear from them has elapsed, say ten days," declares the instruction of the State Committee,

a report should be prepared for publication and copy supplied to each newspaper in the district, with request that it be printed. State the date that it is released for publication. Time it so that it will come out the earliest day in the week that the weekly papers are issued.

If candidates are slow in replying see that they are called upon by one or more members of the committee or by some one appointed by the committee. Impress them with our determination, and call their attention to the machinery for placing candidates in nomination by petition.

Copy of the report should also be sent to me for publication in the *Pennsylvania Grange News.* Reports from all the counties will be published.

Each chairman should retain original answers, making copies or compilations for publication.

Of course the candidates must be treated alike. Absolutely fair treatment is the fundamental tenet in successful non-partisan work.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

POLITICAL PROGRAM OF ORGANIZED BUSINESS MEN.

Anti-Monopoly Organizations Are Numerous and Strong.

Turning from the political programs of organized farmers and organized wage-earners, we find that the anti-monopoly associations of Business Men are more backward than the other anti-monopoly classes in realizing the evils of party government. But where the business men come to realize the way out they are active and strong. For example, see the history of how the advisory referendum was installed in Detroit, page 78, above, also see as to Geneva, Illinois, page 77, above. In Buffalo, New York, where the advisory system has been installed by questioning candidates, the Chamber of Commerce appointed a committee to examine the proposed system and it reported favorably. The report was adopted by a large majority. This was early in the campaign. At a later day a hearing was had before a committee of the common council and not an individual or corporation said a word against the establishment of the people's advisory vote on franchise questions, (page 79, above).

Something as to what the business men's associations have done to put an end to discriminations in freight rates, is stated at page 72, above. Failure, however—flat failure— has resulted from their attempts to dominate *through party government!* The monopolists have too much money! But the business men, by joining in the flank

movement can help to oust the monopolists and with practically no expense, while success can be accomplished as a result of this year's campaign. The only question is, Will the leaders in the business men's associations study the situation and act? Where the organization is *local* a special meeting can be called to consider the question. In such case it will be well, doubtless, to order that copies of this number of the GRANGE NEWS be sent to quite a number of the members. The price is only 4 cents per copy in lots of a dozen or more. This is merely the cost of manufacture and distribution.

Where the business men's organization is a state or national body, and therefore the members cannot at once express themselves through the organization, the officers and leading members can form an outside organization, for example, the Business Men's Anti-Monopoly League of (name of State). This can be organized in a week or ten days and it can do much toward pledging the legislative candidates throughout the state. And the news of the organization will help in other states.

IT IS UP TO THE BUSINESS MEN TO PROTECT THEMSELVES! *One or two men in a state can organize the business interests.*

CHAPTER XXXIV.

ANTI-MACHINE CAMPAIGN BY PEOPLE'S SOVEREIGNTY LEAGUES, MAJORITY RULE LEAGUES, REFERENDUM LEAGUES, ETC.

Nominations by Petition, Where Necessary.

In the foregoing systems for questioning candidates, the city and the country are each represented, except the portions where there are no anti-machine organizations of farmers, wage-earners, or business men, or where they are backward in acting. But all that is required to establish the people's sovereignty is a *majority* of the legislatures, and in these it is only necessary to win *a majority of the votes.* In other words, a trifle more than a quarter of all the votes in the legislatures, properly distributed, will carry them. Such is the existing system of government. This will carry the United States Senate, too, for the senators are to be instructed by the legislatures. In the National House a bare majority of votes will carry that branch of the government.

To assist in the anti-machine campaign there are numerous Referendum Leagues, Direct Legislation Leagues, and Majority Rule Leagues, and People's Sovereignty Leagues are being organized. *Organize as many leagues as possible for there is an advantage in multiplying the number.* It shows an active interest and the candidates realize that each organization is an effective center for work.

Each league should declare its intention to assist in nominating by petition on a people's sovereignty platform should both the leading candidates combine to oppose the establishment of the people's sovereignty. Co-operation will be accorded, of course, by all the non-partisan organizations in the district. Along with the nominating petitions there can be circulated a Voters' Non-Partisan Agreement, see Appendix VI.

Furthermore, each legislative committee of organized farmers, business men and wage-earners, should make it known that should both the leading candidates conspire to refuse to answer that it will insure defeat, for it would mean the organization of a People's Sovereignty League and the placing of candidates in nomination *by petition, the issue being confined to the establishment of the people's sovereignty.*

The mere existence of such a determination by the committee will be effective, FOR THE CANDIDATES ARE IN THE FIGHT TO WIN AND WILL NOT GO UP AGAINST A PROBABLE DEFEAT. The details of the constitution ready for adoption are given in Appendix III.

The form of State organization in Texas, just reported to the National Federation for Majority Rule, is as follows:

WACO, TEXAS, AUG. 16, 1904.

MR. GEO. H. SHIBLEY,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Bro. Shibley: Your letter of the 6th was duly rec'd, and was pleased to learn that the Majority Rule movement had been taken up by the Granges in Pennsylvania. There is no doubt the people are waking up to the importance of the reform all over the country. The success of the movement in Oregon will certainly cause a rapid spread of the good work. *Everybody believes in it;* ALL THEY NEED IS TO BE AROUSED TO THE IMPORTANCE OF ORGANIZING TO OBTAIN IT, AND IT WILL BE ACCOMPLISHED.

At Fort Worth, on the 9th a few earnest men from various parts of the state met in conference to consider the best method of carrying on the propaganda in this state. Judging from the enthusiasm displayed the prospect of successful organization of the state looks hopeful. The undersigned was re-elected chairman, and Dr. G. B. Harris, of Bruceville, was elected secretary. O. F. Dornblaser, of Hillsboro, was elected National Committeeman. He has long been active in Majority Rule work.

The name of the organization was changed from the Non-partisan Federation for Majority Rule to MAJORITY RULE LEAGUE OF TEXAS. A plan of organization was adopted which provides for the appointment of *a chairman for each congressional district, who will appoint a chairman for each county in his district, who will in turn appoint precinct chairmen. A conference of the congressional and county chairmen will be held once a year, while the county chairmen will be instructed to hold quarterly meetings, if possible, to keep the interest alive.* Questions will be submitted to the nominees for the legislature on Majority Rule and proposed railway legislation.

The organization was extremely fortunate in securing the services of Dr. Harris as secretary. He is well known throughout the State as a reformer, is able, earnest and active, and will not shrink from the large amount of work which will fall upon him.

We will also endeavor to have a constitutional amendment for Majority Rule before the legislature, but do not hope for any better results than last session. *With the state organized two years hence, it can be passed.*

Yours fraternally,

(Signed) JOHN R. SPENCER.

See, also, Appendix V. for details of State League organization.

The difference between a league and a political party is that the chief function of the party is the placing of candidates in nomination. A league, on the other hand, works for a measure or measures instead of men. Incidentally it may place a candidate in nomination, limiting the platform to the one or more issues for which the league stands.

Turning to parties, attention is directed to the fact shown in Chapter 25 that none of the third parties are declaring that the establishment of the people's sovereignty is the dominant issue. Two instances in the past are cited in the chapter, however, the chief of which is stated in detail in Appendix VII.

CHAPTER XXXV.

ACTION BY READER IS REQUESTED.

You who have read the foregoing pages must certainly desire to help in the emancipation of yourself and your fellows! If you are a member of a non-partisan organization take active steps to see that a resolution is presented declaring against the rule of the few and for the establishment of the people's sovereignty through guarded representative government. To assist in securing a favorable report, order copies of this number of the GRANGE NEWS for the leading members of the association. The price is only 4 cents per copy in lots of a dozen or more, mailed to separate addresses. Further details of effective lines of action in Business Men's Associations are stated in the second preceding chapter.

Members of Pomona and Subordinate Granges are urged to act at once, for the anti-monopoly campaign is well advanced. Blanks for questioning candidates as to the referendum system in national affairs will be mailed if request is sent to Bro. George H. Shibley, Astoria Building, Washington, D. C. Copies of the proposed Rules of Procedure and Bill in Congress will accompany the blanks. The postage will probably be about 10 cents, and this amount should accompany the request for material. Orders for copies of the GRANGE NEWS should be addressed to 64 Main Street, Chambersburg, Pa.

All should bear in mind that only one copy of this number is mailed into a district by the Pennsylvania State Grange. *It is in the nature of a sample copy,* AND THEREFORE LAYS UPON THE RECEIVER THE DUTY OF EXTENDING THE CIRCULATION IN HIS DISTRICT. Additional copies will be supplied at the mere cost of manufacture and distribution—4 cents, in lots of a dozen or more. Send in your personal order at once, then ask your neighbors to contribute, also suggest to each non-partisan organization of the district that it order a copy for each family in the Order. Granges can increase membership by sending copies to selected names. The greatest period of growth in the Grange was in the '70's, when the anti-monopoly work was at its height. In the state of of Washington last year the increase in membership was 47 per cent. In Pennsylvania for the quarter following the mailing out of question blanks to Pomona and Subordinate Granges, *more Granges were organized and reorganized than in any other state!*

If your district is thoroughly converted to the need for the people's sovereignty, *then contribute funds for mailing this special number* WHERE MOST NEEDED. Many of the

states are backward and the organizations therein should be educated to this non-partisan work. In this national program none can secure its benefits until Congress is secured by a majority vote.

If you are in a rural district or in a village or city that has not yet questioned candidates, organize a People's Sovereignty League and proceed with the work. It will cost you practically nothing in time or cash; for details see Appendix III.

Editors of daily, weekly and monthly papers are urged to review the Anti-Monopoly and Anti-Machine program. You can get but little of the news from the Associated Press, for it suppresses nearly everything concerning the referendum and initiative. This news distributing agency is itself a monopoly and is dominated by monopolists, and therefore is suppressing, so far as possible, all news concerning the Anti-Monopoly campaign, for examples, see pages 2 and 44.

Readers of these pages who are not editors are urged to take their copy to the local editor and ask for a review. And by all means see that whatever action is taken in your district is supplied to the local press.

Write letters to the papers, also. In nearly every case they will gladly publish these communications. Refute at every opportunity the false statements concerning the campaign or its objects. This will open to you an opportunity for a clear statement of the Anti-Monopoly program.

Above all else bear in mind that the united political action of non-partisan organizations *is along the line of least resistance* (Book VI, above) AND THEREFORE SHOULD RECEIVE THE HEARTY CO-OPERATION OF EVERY CITIZEN. TO DO SO WILL NOT INTERFERE IN THE LEAST WITH YOUR PARTY AFFILIATION.

This non-partisan movement for the immediate establishment of the people's sovereignty in national affairs without waiting for a change in the written constitution is of such great importance that one cannot realize it at first sight. But a close inspection demonstrates that it opens a quick and easy road to the establishment of the people's power. Where only yesterday, as it were, the federal constitution obstructed the establishment of the referendum and the initiative and the party machines were being used to continue party government, *now all is changed*: The immediate establishment of the people's sovereignty has become the dominant issue, *forced to the front by the questioning of candidates by non-partisan organizations, which will at once win the day,* FOR CANDIDATES DARE NOT OPENLY OPPOSE A PROPOSITION SO SELF-EVIDENTLY IN THE VOTERS' INTERESTS. COMPLETE SUCCESS ONLY REQUIRES THAT A FEW PEOPLE IN ABOUT HALF THE DISTRICTS IN THE UNITED STATES SHALL BECOME DOMINATED WITH THE IDEA! Already the sentiment in the states west of Indiana is completely won over to the referendum and initiative. Mere paper organization will at once secure the pledges of candidates! In the central, eastern and southern states immediate success can be secured by the numerous non-partisan forces *if an active interest is aroused.*

The quick-acting qualities of this program for establishing the referendum were pointed out two years ago in the introduction to the extra number of *The American Federationist.* It was there said:

> **The new questions as to the system of government and the method for installing it *are such as must revolutionize the prevailing ideals.* This new system can be adopted with an ease and rapidity which places it as much ahead of the prevailing campaign methods as the telegraph is ahead of the stage coach.**

But relief from Trustocracy is coming none too soon, as is pointed out in the chapters showing the extent to which even the forms of popular government are openly repudiated, while class war is raging in Colorado and may become national at any time. If the people's sovereignty is not established in this year's campaign, it will be two years before another opportunity occurs, and in the meantime the monopolists will continue as our rulers and will become more and more arrogant and oppressive.

APPENDICES.

Appendix I.

INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM PRINCIPLE IN NATIONAL AFFAIRS.

Proposed by Pennsylvania State Grange, American Federation of Labor, People's Sovereignty Leagues, and Other Organizations.

All Who Believe in the Establishment of the People's Sovereignty Are Requested to Co-operate to Secure the Adoption of the System by the Incoming Congress.

The following is a draft of resolution to be introduced in the congress of the United States, and also draft of the bill to be enacted by the congress of the United States and the legislatures of the several states. The adoption of these will open the way for important statutory changes and constitutional amendments. Minor changes in the proposed draft of the resolution and bill are provided for in the questions to candidates; that is, these changes may be agreed to by the authorized representatives of the National Grange and the American Federation of Labor.

I. Resolution for Proposed Rules of Procedure.

A RESOLUTION:

For rules of procedure in the U. S. House of Representatives establishing in the people an advisory initiative as to interstate commerce and ten other topics, and an advisory referendum as to laws of congress and measures passed by a house or by both houses—a system whereby the people may more effectually instruct national representatives.

Resolved, That until the people take to themselves the final power in legislation by a constitutional amendment for the optional referendum and direct initiative, this house adopts the following rules for a system whereby the people may instruct national representatives:

ADVISORY INITIATIVE AS TO LEGISLATION CONCERNING INTESTATE COMMERCE AND TEN OTHER TOPICS.

Section 1. Whenever seven hundred fifty thousand (750,000) voters shall present to this House and Senate any bill, constitutional amendment, or other form of question as to national policy concerning interstate commerce (that is, concerning railways, telegraphs, telephones, currency, or other instrument of interstate commerce, or a corporation or individual whose business it is to operate any of the instruments of interstate commerce) and (2) trial by jury or any modification of the law of injunction; (3) dependencies; (4) hours and conditions of labor; (5) immigration; (6) postal savings bank; (7) direct election of senators, president and vice-president of the United States; (8) the civil service, including direct election of fourth-class postmasters; (9) direct nominations; (10) direct initiative and optional referendum, and (11) proportional representation, the petition shall be received and numbered, read twice, referred to a committee for consideration and reported back, together with such amendments, substitute, or recommendation as may be thought desirable. The House, after considering the subject and agreeing with the Senate, but without an enacting clause, shall refer to the voters the original bill as initiated, and also such alternative measure or recommendation as shall have been agreed upon, the details as to petition, referendum ballot, and all other steps leading up to and including the announcement of the result to be prescribed by laws of congress and of the several states.

Section 2. Each measure initiated by petioners shall have precedence over all other measures except appropriation bills and bills immediately necessary for the preservation of the public peace, health, or safety, and shall be reported to the Speaker of the House for submission not later than one year from the time it was filed. There shall be at least 90 days between the final reporting of the initiative measure and the balloting by the voters. In case there is less time the ballot shall be cast not later than the succeeding year. Where practicable the balloting shall take place at the autumn election.

Section 3. If, in a majority of the congres-

sional districts and a majority of the states, a majority of the votes legally cast for and against both measures shall favor one of them, or if only one measure is presented and it shall receive a majority (as herein defined), there shall be incorporated an enacting clause, if the measure is a bill, read three times and voted upon by yeas and nays. If the successful measure is not in detail it shall be referred to committee for the reporting of a bill which shall be considered with a view to expressing therein the will of the people, and shall go to third reading.

Section 4. Where there are competing measures and neither receives a majority of the votes cast for and against them ("majority" being used as defined above), the one receiving the highest vote shall be resubmitted by itself if it receives more than one-third of the votes cast for and against both bills. Voters may indicate second choice, which shall be counted for a bill in case the first choice does not secure a majority. If a measure receives a majority as herein defined, there shall follow the procedure described in section 3.

ADVISORY REFERENDUM AS TO LAWS OF CONGRESS AND MEASURES PASSED BY A HOUSE OR BY BOTH HOUSES.

Section 1. Whenever five hundred thousand (500,000) voters request in writing that a law of congress or a measure passed by the Senate or House or by both houses shall be submitted to a vote of the people for the purpose of instructing representatives, their request shall be granted. The procedure for petitioning, verification of signatures, decision as to compliance with requirements, steps in an appeal, submission of question to the voters, return of vote, decision of contests, etc., to be prescribed by laws of congress and of the several states.

Section 2. The balloting shall take place not later than the following general election which occurs more than sixty days after the filing of the petition.

Section 3. Where a people's advisory vote on the subject-matter enumerated in section 1 of this rule is requested by a million (1,000,000) petitioners they shall be entitled to call a special election and shall specify the date.

A similar set of rules is to be presented in the Senate.

II. Constitutional and Effective.

The authority in the federal constitution for the enactment of the proposed rules of procedure is as follows:

> Each house may determine the rules of its procedure (article I, section 5).
>
> Congress shall have power * * * to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several states * * * to establish post roads, etc. (Art. I, Section 8).

In other words, Congress is specifically authorized to legislate concerning interstate commerce and the ten other topics to which the rules are to apply.

Upon these questions of public policy congress may determine the rules of its procedure so long as there is no infringement of other portions of the constitution. The advisory initiative is not in conflict with any portion of the constitution, nor is the advisory referendum. *They are simply regulations setting forth how a certain class of petitions to congress may be inaugurated, filed and considered in congress, then referred to an advisory vote of the people through referendum machinery provided by state legislatures.* The people's will, when expressed, will not *legally* bind the members of congress, therefore no constitutional provision will be infringed. The candidates, however, who vote for the establishment of the system will be pledged to obey the will of the voters in their district when indicated by referendum vote. *This moral obligation will make the system effective.*

That the people are morally warranted in instructing their representatives is not an open question. Every candidate for legislative office promises that if elected he will carry out the principles set forth in the platform on which he stands. In this way the majority vote is an instruction. To-day we propose to go another step *and separate some of the issues from the vote for candidates, and also to separate some of the issues themselves.* This will enable the voters to act more intelligently, for there is no vote-purchasing at referendum elections on such measures as we propose. Furthermore, before a referendum vote can be taken the question will first be considered in congress in order that testimony may be taken and the truth ferreted out; and congress can frame a competing measure where the direct initiative is used.

Note, also, that the rules provide that before the members of congress become morally bound to install a measure it shall have received the people's assent *in a majority of the congressional districts and in a majority of the states.* This conforms to the requirements for a majority vote in the Senate and in the House—a double majority, as it is frequently termed. In Switzerland every measure adopted by a referendum vote must receive this double majority. and it is an interesting fact that every measure which has received the assent of a majority of the districts has also been assented to in a majority of the cantons.

The statutory provisions for installing the proposed system are as follows:

III. Details of Proposed National System.

A BILL:

Supplementing two rules of procedure in the National Senate and House which establish in the people an advisory initiative as to interstate commerce and ten other topics and an advisory referendum as to laws of congress and measures passed by either house or by both houses—a system through which the people may more effectually instruct national representatives.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the following shall be substantially the form of petition for an advisory vote of the people upon a law of congress or measure passed by either house, or by both houses.

Referendum Petition.

To the honorable President of the United States Senate and Speaker of the House of Representatives:

We, the undersigned citizens and legal voters in the several states, respectfully request that (describe measure) shall be referred to the legal electors in the several states that they may instruct their national representatives, and that the vote be taken at the regular general election to be held at the ..... day of ...., 19.. (or special election), and each for himself says: I have personally signed this petition; I am a legal voter of the state of ..... and my residence, postoffice, and voting precinct are correctly written after my name.

Name.	Residence (if in city, street and number).	Postoffice.	Voting precinct.

Each sheet on which petitioners sign shall have printed at the top or be attached to a correct copy of the title and text of the measure which it is proposed shall be submitted to the people. And there shall be printed on the sheet with the petition the words "Important Notice," and underneath this notice the words of the statute describing those who are entitled to sign and the penalty for an infraction of the law. The petition shall be filed with the clerk of the House in numbered sections for convenience in handling.

Section 2. Initiative Petition.—The following shall be substantially the form of an initiative petition for any law or amendment to the constitution of the United States or for a resolution or statement of public policy.

Initiative Petition.

To the Honorable President of the Senate and Speaker of the House:

We, the undersigned citizens and legal voters in the several states, respectfully request that the following proposed law (or amendment to the constitution, or resolution, or question of public policy) shall be submitted to the legal electors in the states that they may instruct their national representatives, the vote to be taken at the next general election (or special election) after congress shall have finished its consideration of the measure, but there shall be at least 90 days between the submission by congress and the referendum vote, and each for himself says: I have personally signed this petition, and my residence, postoffice, and voting precinct are correctly written after my name.

Name.	Residence (if in city, street and number).	Postoffice.	Voting precinct.

Each sheet on which initiative petitioners sign shall have printed at the top or be attached to a full and correct copy of the title and text of the measure proposed. And there shall be printed on the sheet with the petition the words "Important Notice," and underneath this notice the words of the statute describing those who are entitled to sign and the penalty for an infraction of the law. The petition shall be filed with the clerk of the House in numbered sections for convenience in handling.

Section 3. Verification of Signatures.—The legislature in each of the several states shall provide machinery for the verfication of signatures to national petitions, and the following provisions, sections 3a, 3b, and 3c, are recommended, and until machinery for the verification of signatures to national petitions is provided for in a state the signatures on petitions therefrom shall be considered genuine until disproved.

Section 3a. The provision for registration of voters shall include the taking of two signatures, together with residence, postoffice, and voting precinct, one of which shall be filed in the county clerk's office. A certified copy of the lists on file with the county clerk shall be transmitted by him to the clerk of the House of Representatives at Washington, D. C.

Section 3b. The signatures of voters in the state of (insert name of state) to national petitions for a direct vote of the people shall be verified by the county clerks in the several counties. As rapidly as sheets of signatures to a petition are filed with a county clerk he shall compare the signatures with the signatures on the registration books and blanks on file in his office for the preceding general election, and the genuineness of the several signatures shall be certified to the clerk of the House of Representatives substantially as follows:

State of .....

ss.

County of .....

To the honorable ....., clerk of the U. S. House of Representatives:

I, ..., county clerk for the county of ....., state of ....., hereby certify that I have compared the signatures on (number of sheets) of the national referendum (national initiative) petition attached hereto, with the signatures of said electors as they appear on the registration books and blanks in my office, and I hereby certify to the best of my knowledge and belief that the signatures of (names of signers) numbering (number of genuine signatures) are genuine. As to the remainder of the signatures thereon I believe they are not genuine, except that the following names ..... do not appear on the registration books and blanks in my office.

(Seal of Office) (Signed) ..... County Clerk.

By .....Deputy.

Every such certificate shall be prima facie evidence of the facts stated therein and of the qualifications of the electors, whose signatures are thus certified to be genuine. The county clerk shall not retain in his possession any such petition or any part thereof for a longer period than two days for the first two hundred signatures thereon, and one additional day for each two hundred additional signatures or fraction thereof on the sheets presented to him, and at the expiration of such time he shall deliver the same to the person from whom he received it, with his certificate attached thereto as above provided. The forms herein given are not mandatory, and if substantially followed in any petition it shall be sufficient, disregarding clerical and merely technical errors.

Section 3c. The signatures which the county clerks shall refuse to certify as genuine may be certified to by notaries public, and the certificate shall be substantially in the following form:

State of .....

ss.

County of .....

I, ..., a duly qualified and acting notary public in and for the above named county and state, do hereby certify that I personally know each of the following named electors, and each on oath has declared to me that he personally signed a national petition, of which the annexed petition is a copy, the original petition being one which has been certified to by the county clerk of this county, and he further declares on oath that he is a legal voter in the state and that his name is on the registration books of this county for the last general election. The names of said electors are as follows:

(Names of such electors.)

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and official seal this ... day of ..... 19...

.....
Notary for (name of state).

The certificates of the notaries public shall be filed with the secretary of state, at the capital of the state, who shall compare and certify as to the genuineness of the official signatures and seals of the notaries, and the secretary's of state certificate, together with the certificates of the notaries, shall be ready for delivery within two days from the time of filing.

Section 4. Filing of Petition—Appeal to Supreme Court.—When a petition for the national initiative or national referendum shall be filed with the clerk of the U. S. House of Representatives, he shall at once notify in writing the chief justice of the supreme court of the United States, who in person or by appointment of an associate justice shall at once pass upon whether the petition is sufficient to have the measure referred to the people under the rule of procedure of the Senate and House and supplementary legislation. An appeal to the supreme court of the United States may be taken by the petitioners or the remonstrants, if any. The appellants shall serve upon the justice and clerk of the House of Representatives a written notice of appeal, and they shall thereupon transmit to the clerk of the supreme court a copy of the decision, together with such of the original papers and documents in the case as may be demanded by any of the appellants.

Section 5. Introduction of Initiative Petition—Submission to Voters.—An initiative petition shall be presented to the House of Representatives the third day after a petition has been held to be sufficient, or the first day thereafter that the House convenes, unless an appeal shall have been taken; and a copy of the petition with a statement as to the number of signatures shall be presented to the Senate the same day that the petition is presented in the House or the first day thereafter that the Senate is in session. One year from the date of presentation to the House and Senate, or at such earlier day as the measure may be reported to the speaker of the House for submission to the people, he shall in writing notify the President of the United States of the reporting of such petition for popular vote, and the President shall forthwith issue a proclamation announcing the fact and the date of the referendum vote with the title of the measure and of competing measure by congress, if there is one.

Section 6. Submission of Question to Referendum Vote.—A written notice of the filing of a referendum petition shall be submitted to the President of the United States by the clerk of the House of Representatives, on the third day after a favorable decision has been rendered, unless an appeal shall have been taken, and the President shall forthwith issue a proclamation announcing the filing of the petition, the date of the referendum vote, with a statement of the title of the measure.

Section 7. Numbering of Petitions—Title of Petitions.—Each petition for a direct vote of the people that is filed with the clerk of the House of Representatives shall be numbered by him consecutively year after year, beginning with one. The title to each petition shall be that selected by the petitioners or by the committee or organization representing them.

Section 8. Publication of Text of Measures—Copies for Distribution.—Not later than the first Monday of the sixth month next before any general election at which a national question is to be submitted to a direct vote of the people, the speaker of the House of Representatives shall transmit to the public printer a true copy of the title and text of each measure to be submitted; and printed copies shall be supplied the document rooms, from time to time, and the chief of each shall supply copies to applicants and in such quantities as demanded, provided reasonable assurance is given that they will be placed singly in the hands of the people. All bills, or copies of bills, arguments, ballots, sample ballots, lists, returns, and all other official matter necessary to carry into effect the provisions of this law shall receive the franking privilege in the U. S. postoffice.

Section 9. Publication of Official Ballot—Copies for Distribution.—At the time the speaker of the House of Representatives transmits to the public printer the above-described copy he shall include manuscript copy for the official ballot, indicating the styles of type. Said ballot shall be of white paper and there shall be placed at the head in bold type the words, "National Question [or Questions]" and the following: "Official Refer-

endum Ballot to be Used (date). Issued by Order of the Congress of the United States." The questions shall be published in numerical order, beginning with number one each year, with a brief catch line over each set of questions, also at the left-hand side of each question, if there are two or more questions on one general topic, and at the end or bottom of each question the words "yes" and "no," with instruction to place a cross opposite the word which expresses the voter's preference. There shall be a provision for second choice. In connection with each measure there shall be stated who presented it. The following is a sample:

[SAMPLE BALLOT.]

NATIONAL QUESTIONS.

Official referendum ballot to be used (date).

Issued by order of the congress of the United States.

(To County Clerk: In printing the ballots insert here the names of State, County, Township, or Ward and Precinct.)

CONCERNING INTERSTATE RAILROADS.

To indicate your choice place a cross (x) opposite the world you wish to adopt. If you have second choice indicate it by "second choice" or its equivalent.

Immediate Public Ownership of Railways.

Question 1. Direct Initiative No. 1, proposed by 800,000 voters: "For the immediate purchase of the railway systems of the United States by eminent domain proceedings (probably at the average market price of their stocks and bonds for preceding five years), with operation of the roads by the federal government, and with equal rights to all shippers." Shall it be adopted?

Yes.....

No.....

Regulation of Railway Rates Through Interstate Commerce Commission.

Question 2. House Bill No. 101, submitted by congress: "For (1) regulation of rates of interstate transportation by means of the Interstate Commerce Commission; and (2) for the securing of equal rights to shippers." Shall it be adopted?

Yes.....

No.....

Transition to Public Ownership Through Fixed Rate of Profit and Public Control.

Question 3. Direct Initiative No. 2, proposed by 1,000,000 voters: "For transition to public ownership of railways by (1) immediate regulation of rates of interstate transportation by the Interstate Commerce Commission, the object of which shall be to provide sufficient net earning for dividends that will keep the market price of the capital stock practically at par; said capital stock to be limited to such an amount as shall represent the cost of reproducing the plant, together with the sums paid for the right of way, with a deduction of the market value of the bonds outstanding; and further protection of public interests by prescribing civil service regulations and clothing the Interstate Commerce Commission with general supervisory powers equal to those now exercised in railway receiverships by federal courts; and (2) after the amount of the capital stock is ascertained the government shall purchase it and issue bonds against the roads." Shall it be adopted?

Yes...

No....

Attested copies of the printed ballot shall be forwarded by the clerk of the House to the several secretaries of state enclosing a copy for each county clerk. And the clerk of the House shall supply printed copies to applicants and in such quantities as may be wanted, provided reasonable assurance is given that single copies will be placed in the hands of the people.

Referendum petitions filed at least 60 days from general election day, initiative petitions reported to the Speaker of the House of Representatives at least 90 days before election day, and referendum petition for a special election shall at once be submitted to the voters in the manner prescribed in this and the preceding sections.

Section 10. Machinery for Disseminating the Bills, Sample Ballot and Arguments.—Immediately after the time set for the publication of the text of bills that are to go to referendum vote the public printer shall publish copies of the bills, and an argument for and against each bill, not to exceed 2,000 words for each side, one-fourth of which may be in rebuttal. The arguments shall be in charge of a joint committee of the Senate and House, and a committee or organization representing the petitioners. The first part of each argument shall be filed six and one-half months before the general election, except as to measures filed subsequently, in which case five days shall be allowed. Rebuttals shall be filed six months and three days before the general election, except as to measures filed subsequently, in which case two days for rebuttals shall be allowed. One copy of text of measures and arguments and a sample referendum ballot shall be mailed to each voter in the United States whose address is on file with the clerk of the U. S. House of Representatives, preference to be given to the addresses supplied by registration officers in the several states [see section 3a]. Unofficial lists shall be filed by voting precincts and the names shall be in alphabetical order.

[The total cost to the government for publication and distribution would not exceed two cents per name. For 15,000,000 voters the cost would be $300,000. The demand for referendum voting will be confined to few but important measures. In Switzerland it is the conservator of the people's rights and is the court of last resort, and such will be the case in America. To explain the objections to a proposed law is very important.]

Section 11. Machinery for Referendum Vote.—The legislature in each of the several states is requested to provide machinery for a direct vote on questions of public policy submitted by congress, and provide also for counting, canvassing, and returning the vote. The following provisions, sections 11a, 11b, 11c, 11d, and 11e, are urged.

Section 11a. The secretary of state at the time that he furnishes to the county clerks in the several counties certified copies of the names of the candidates for state and district offices shall furnish to each of said clerks a certified copy of the national referendum ballot to be voted upon at the ensuing general election and shall instruct the

county clerks to print copies and distribute to the precinct election officials, the number of ballots to be that of each of the other ballots.

Section 11b. Whenever congress shall order a referendum vote at a time other than the general election the secretary of state of each of the several states shall transmit to the county clerks a certified copy of the national referendum ballot and shall instruct them to print copies and distribute them to the precinct election officials, the number to be printed to be that of the state ballot in the preceding general election.

Section 11c. At each polling booth a separate box shall be used for the ballots on national questions.

Section 11d. The ballots on national questions shall be counted, canvassed, and returned by the regular board of judges, clerks, and officers as votes for candidates are counted, canvassed, and returned, and the abstract made by the several county clerks of votes on national measures shall be returned to the clerk of the House of Representatives on abstract sheets in the manner in which ballots on amendments to state constitutions are returned.

Section 11e. Who May Sign Petition and Vote—Penalties.—Every person in (name of state) who is qualified to vote for member of the House of Representatives may sign a petition for a direct vote on a national question or questions, and on such questions may cast a referendum ballot. Any person signing any name other than his own to any such petition, or signing the same more than once for the same measure at one election, or who is not at the time of signing the same a legal voter of the state, or any person who swears falsely before a notary public as to signing a national petition for direct vote, or as to being a legal voter in the state, or that his name is on the registration books of the county for the last general election, or any person who shall unlawfully cast a national referendum ballot, or any officer or any person violating any provision of this statute, shall upon conviction thereof be punished by a fine of not exceeding $500 or by imprisonment in the penitentiary not exceeding two years, or by both such fine and imprisonment in the discretion of the court before which such conviction shall be had.

Section 12. Final Count of Referendum Vote—Publication of Result.—Thirty days after the referendum vote has been taken, and sooner if the returns be all received, the chief justice of the supreme court of the United States or any associate justice whom he may appoint, shall, in the presence of a committee of the petitioners and of the opposing side, who shall have been previously notified, proceed to canvass the returns and the result shall be placed in writing and filed in the office of the clerk of the House with access to the public. The returns shall be presented to the House and Senate by the clerk of the House immediately upon the assembling of said houses.

Appendix II.

OUTLINE OF COMPLETE ARGUMENT FOR SPEAKERS AND WRITERS.

People's Sovereignty the Dominant Issue—Advisory Initiative and Advisory Referendum the Line of Least Resistance in National Affairs

The art of producing in the minds of men a belief in the ideas which the speaker or writer wishes them to accept, is termed Argumentation.

The art consists in applying rules of logic, persuasive methods, rhetoric and the rules of evidence.

Preparatory to making an extended argument it is absolutely necessary to outline the case by (1) stating the exact question in dispute, (2) defining terms used, (3) showing the origin of the question, (4) stating what facts are admitted by both sides, (5) eliminating the extraneous ideas, (6) finding the special issue, and (7) arranging the evidence.

This constitutes the brief, which has three divisions, the introduction, the brief proper and the conclusion.

These principles of argumentation are herewith applied to the following questions:

QUESTIONS:

Resolved, That the dominant issue in the politics of the United States is the establishment of the sovereignty of the people through a people's veto and direct initiative, for it is the only way that trustocracy, imperialism, militarism, and other forms of rule by the few can be abolished; and

Resolved, That the advisory referendum and advisory initiative as to interstate trusts and ten other topics proposed by organized wage-earners and organized farmers, will establish the people's sovereignty as to these national questions and will lead to the people's complete sovereignty.

Question I.

Introduction.

1. "Trusts" is the term generally applied to private monopolies.
2. Each dollar taken from the people through private monopoly is a tax for private pockets—a private tax.
3. The amount of this private tax is about two billion dollars each year—$125 per family, $10 per month.
4. The people who are thus taxed for private purposes are slaves, for if they were the sovereign power they would not be taxed for private pockets.
5. After the monopolists had the people of the United States well in hand they reached out through the government and gained control of the Filipinos and Porto Ricans, openly holding them as subjects instead of citizens.
6. Since the entry of this country into the colonial business there has been a steady development of militarism at home, in order to hold in subjection those whom the trusts are fleecing:

a. The army that is immediately subject to the call of the President is 155,000 men —a three hundred per cent. increase in three years.

b. The reserve which the President can draft at a moment's notice is some 15,000,000 men.

7. Along with the development of militarism by the trusts is,

a. The abolition of trial by jury in certain cases and abolition of appeal as to questions of fact—Government by Injunction.

b. The open repudiation of the forms of popular government in three states—Colorado, Utah and Illinois.

c. The legal establishment of one-man rule in Colorado—the first time that such a system was ever legally established by an Anglo-Saxon people.

8. The name of the political system through which the few are ruling is party government—machine rule. Where one man controls the party machine it is boss rule.

9. The monopolists have been and are controlling the political machines of the leading parties by out-bidding all competitors in supplying campaign funds.

10. The political power of the monopolists has been terminated wherever the people have abolished all unnecessary delegation of power by taking to themselves a veto power as to acts of their legislative agents, and a direct initiative.

11. And where the people's veto and direct initiative have been established the system has terminated private monopoly. For example, in Switzerland, and in Oregon and South Dakota except as to interstate monopolies.

12. This people's veto and direct initiative establishes the people's sovereignty and is in the line of social and political evolution and consequently is sure to come.

Argument.

1. The people in the states of the Union other than Oregon and South Dakota should establish their sovereignty in state and municipal affairs, and the people of the entire nation should extend their veto power to all but urgency questions, for

a. The system is practicable.

(1) Such is the history of the system in Oregon, South Dakota and Switzerland, and the system has been partially adopted in every state and city, always with success, because

(a) The people's veto (through the optional referendum) and direct initiative are largely effective without a referendum vote——only a few close questions are ordered to a vote of the people.

(b) This removes the objection that too many referendum votings will take place.

(c) Such measures as do go to a referendum vote under the optional referendum and direct initiative are vital questions and widely discussed, thereby bringing out a full vote, except that the ignorant and careless stay away from the polls or do not mark the referendum ballot.

(d) There is no tendency to vote-purchasing at referendum elections, except where a special privilege is at stake, for example, the location of a county seat or state capital.

(e) The absence of vote-purchasing at referendum votings on questions concerning railways and nearly all public questions, is the reason why the ignorant and careless voters stay away from the polls or do not mark the referendum ballot.

(f) The intelligent and earnest voters exercise their judgment at referendum elections—they do not vote blindly.

(g) There is an almost total absence of partisan feeling or prejudice in referendum votings.

(h) The facts as to the referendum questions are clearly brought to light and placed before the intelligent and earnest voters, thereby resulting in an enlightened majority rule.

(2) The objection that the area of our country is too great for voting on national issues is not valid, for

(a) The people are already voting on national issues at every election.

(b) The only change in the election machinery will be that the election judges will hand to the voters a referendum ballot in addition to the ballot containing the names of candidates. This referendum system is in successful operation in Iowa, South Dakota, and Oregon.

b. The referendum ballot on national questions will be an improvement, because it will establish the people's sovereignty, which will terminate private monopoly. This supreme power in the voters is discoverable by analysis:

(1) The national questions will be voted upon separately from the candidates for legislative office, there being a ticket for each.

(2) The issues themselves will be separated, for the people can order any question to a referendum vote and separately mark each question.

(3) The system will abolish private monopolies, for

(a) Such is the result of the right to a direct ballot wherever adopted.

(b) The reason why the direct ballot abolishes private monopoly is because such a course is in the interest of the majority.

c. The objection that our people are not sufficiently developed to establish their sovereignty and terminate monopoly rule and robbery is invalid, for

(1) History demonstrates that through the constitutional convention and referendum vote in state affairs there was terminated—

(a) Repudiation of state debts.

(b) Wild-cat bank currency.

(c) Railway monopoly extortions and discriminations in the states.

(2) Now that the railway question and other monopoly questions have become interstate the proposal is simply to extend the people's veto to those national issues, and to install a direct initiative in place of calling a constitutional convention.

(3) This direct initiative is practicable, because

(a) It does not open up the entire framework of government.

(b) It can be secured, whereas the constitutional convention cannot be secured.

(4) This direct initiative is desirable, for

(a) It is more conservative than the rule of the monopolists or the rule of a radical party.

(b) The history of the direct initiative in Iowa, Oregon, South Dakota and San Francisco. demonstrates that our people are fitted for the direct initiative, an essential element in self-government. In Switzerland the direct initiative was established in 1891 and the best of results have followed. The doleful prophecies that the people would hurt themselves have been false prophecies.

(5) But the following are conclusive reasons for the establishment of the people's sovereignty at the earliest practicable day:

(a) The two-billion dollar robbery by the trusts each year.

(b) The monopolists' refusal to arbitrate wage differences, which

(b1) May bring about another famine famine.

(b1) May bring about another famine in dressed meats.

(c1) May tie up all the transportation lines.

(c) The monopolists have abolished trial by jury and review of facts by higher court, through government by injunction.

(d) The monopolists are openly repudiating popular government in Colorado, Utah and Illinois, a condition that will become national if existing tendencies to centralization are continued long enough.

(6) Another conclusive reason for establishing the people's veto and direct initiative is that it is the only way whereby the rule of the few can be abolished—any system or representative government that does not include a people's veto and direct initiative leaves the sovereignty in the few, who rule through the party machine.

Conclusion.

Reviewing the arguments it appears that it is practicable for the people to establish their sovereignty in national affairs, and that this will quickly terminate the private monopolies in interstate commerce—will settle the trust question. The objection that the area of the country is too great for the referendum ballot is invalid, as also is the objection that our people are not sufficiently developed to establish their sovereignty and terminate trust rule and robbery. Conclusive proof that our people ought to establish their sovereignty is the two-billion dollar robbery by the trusts each year—a sum so large as to be almost beyond comprehension. And the monopolists have openly repudiated even the forms of popular government in three states, which condition must become national if the centralization of wealth continues through the trust robberies. A second and third line of conclusive proof is that the establishment of the people's veto and direct initiative is the only way that the people's sovereignty can be established in the United States, and the whole trend of evolution is toward the people's sovereignty. This tendency being part of the universe demonstrates that it is right and will surely come.

QUESTION II.

Introduction.

1. It is practically impossible to amend the federal constitution under the existing system of machine rule, as is demonstrated by

   a. The failure to secure an amendment for the direct election of United States Senators—a measure demanded by practically all the people.

2. The difficulty in amending the written constitution has led to many indirect changes, for example,

   a. The presidential electors do not exercise their own judgment in voting for president and vice president, as was intended by the framers of the constitution for they are instructed for whom they shall vote, and are pledged in advance to obey the instruction.

   b. The members of congress do not exercise their own judgment in determining what legislation shall be enacted, as was intended by the framers of the constitution for the national convention of each party instructs its members, while the people determine which party shall be in power.

3. But instructions by means of party platforms are indefinite and the system does not confer on the people a veto power nor a direct initiative. These are to be secured through the following system:

a. The candidates for congress (the house and senate, are being questioned as follows,—

(1) If elected, will you vote to install rules of procedure and a statute providing for an advisory referendum vote on interstate commerce questions and ten other topics?

(2) If elected, will you obey the will of your district when expressed by referendum vote?

Argument.

1. This proposed system is constitutional for
   a. The federal constitution provides (1) That "each house shall determine the rules of its procedure" (Art. 1, Sec. 5), and (2) That Congress may legislate on the eleven topics to which the rules are to apply.
   b. The proposed rules do not conflict with any provision in the written constitution.
2. The proposed system will be effective for
   a. The candidates will be pledged to obey the will of the voters in their district when indicated by referendum vote.
   b. The written pledges of the candidates elected will be lived up to, for
      (1) Not one of the presidential electors has violated his pledge.
      (2) It is customary in this country for legislative agents to carry out their written pledges, especially when demanded by a strong public sentiment, and by associations thoroughly organized.
      (3) Even the aldermen in great cities like Chicago and Detroit are living up to their pledges and with sixty million dollars worth of franchises at stake; (page 78, above).
      (4) The establishment of the people's sovereignty is so big an issue that public sentiment will become centered upon it, and nothing can defeat an aroused public sentiment on this question backed by the non-partisan organizations. (Page 84, above).
3. This advisory system is to give way to the usual form of the referendum and initiative as quickly as an amendment to the federal constitution can be enacted through the advisory initiative.
4. But without waiting for this change the trust problem will be taken up and settled.
5. Finally, it is possible to install the system in the incoming congress, for
   a. It is possible to secure a majority vote in the house, and
   b. A majority vote in the senate is to be secured by pledging the candidates for the legislature to vote to instruct the senators and vote for the election of such candidates only as are pledged to the system.

Conclusion.

As the proposed system of the advisory initiative and advisory referendum for establishing the people's sovereignty in national affairs will be constitutional, effective, can be installed in a single campaign, will solve the trust problem and will quickly lead to alterations in the written constitution, we submit it should be adopted.

The foregoing system is that used in Principles of Argumentation, by Professor Baker of Harvard University. He employs the numerals and letters as they are essential to the mathematical precision to which the art has been developed. A careful study of Professor Baker's book of 400 pages is earnestly recommended. It is the treatise used in the universities and the writer knows of no other book that covers the field so thoroughly. The price is only $1.18 net. It is published by Ginn & Co., but should be ordered of your bookseller. Another excellent work, to which Baker's book is an introduction, is Robinson's Forensic Oratory, listed at $2.50. Little, Brown & Co., are the publishers.

The foregoing brief has been hastily drawn and doubtless can be improved upon in many ways.

See, also, Book III.

APPENDIX III.

CONSTITUTION FOR LOCAL LEAGUE.

Non-Partisan, With One Possible Exception.

The following is suggested for a Local League.

To aid in establishing the people's sovereignty in place of trustocracy and then aid in applying the referendum and initiative, we, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves in an organization to be known as the PEOPLE'S SOVEREIGNTY LEAGUE OF .....
(Name of township.)

ARTICLE I. MEMBERSHIP—NO DUES. Voters may become members upon application. There shall be no dues.

ARTICLE II. OFFICERS—DUTIES. SECTION 1. There shall be a chairman and treasurer. The regular election shall be the first Monday in December, 1905, and every alternate year thereafter. A secretary shall be chosen for each session of the league. At other times the secretary's duties shall be performed by the chairman.

SEC. 2. The chairman shall represent the organization in a county league. [The chairmen of the several township leagues should constitute the county committee. The chairmen of the county leagues should constitute the state committee.]

SEC. 3. The chairman of this league shall join with the chairmen of the other township leagues in the county and with the county league in questioning the legislative candidates of all the parties in this district. The questions shall be asked by the county chairman. The replies shall be made public throughout the district, and such other activities shall be engaged in by the county and township leagues as will

tend most effectually to elect the candidates who are pledged. In case the candidates of both the leading parties refuse to pledge for the people's sovereignty, this league may join in nominating a candidate or candidates by petition.

SEC. 4. Reports to the county league shall be made upon request.

SEC. 5. As rapidly as the referendum and initiative are installed the league shall help to apply the system.

ARTICLE III. MAIL VOTE. Balloting, including the election of officers, may be conducted by mail.

ARTICLE IV. AMENDMENT. This constitution may be amended by majority of those voting.

CHARTER MEMBERS.

[Five or more signatures are a sufficient number to start the organization. If you believe in the people's sovereignty, sign and get the voters in the family and a few of your neighbors.]

Signatures.	Residence.	P. O. Address.
.....		
.....		
.....		
.....		
.....		
.....		

APPENDIX IV.

ORGANIZATION OF COUNTY.

Practically Inexpensive in Time and Money.

In place of organizing a local league as provided for in the preceding constitution a County League can be organized, which outlines a plan for at once organizing the townships of the county. The constitution is as follows:

To aid in establishing the people's sovereignty in place of trustocracy and then aid in applying the referendum and initiative, we, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves in an organization to be known as the PEOPLE'S SOVEREIGNTY LEAGUE OF .....
(Name of county.)

ARTICLE I. MEMBERS—COUNTY COMMITTEE. The league shall be composed of the township leagues, represented by their chairmen, who shall constitute the county committee.

ARTICLE II. OFFICERS — ELECTION. The officers shall consist of an executive committee of five members, including the chairman, secretary, and treasurer. An advisory council and organizers may be appointed. The regular election of officers shall be the first Monday in January, 1905, and every alternate year thereafter.

ARTICLE III. DUTIES OF OFFICERS. SECTION 1. The officers elected by the charter members shall endeavor to organize as speedily as possible in each township in the county a People's Sovereignty League. Voters are eligible to membership, and shall become members upon application. There shall be no dues.

SEC. 2. The officers shall serve without pay. Expenses shall be paid from the treasury, the funds to be provided by voluntary contributions.

SEC. 3. The county chairman, in his official capacity and in the name of the chairmen of the township leagues shall question the legislative candidates of all the parties in the district. The replies shall be made public throughout the district, and such other activities shall be engaged in by the county and township leagues as will tend most effectually to elect the candidates who are pledged. In case the candidates of the two leading parties refuse to pledge for the people's sovereignty, a candidate or candidates may be placed in nomination by the league.

SEC. 4. Reports to the state league shall be made upon request.

SEC. 5. As rapidly as the referendum and initiative are installed the league shall co-operate with other non-partisan organizations in applying the system.

ARTICLE IV. MAIL VOTE. Balloting, including the election of officers, may be conducted by mail.

Signatures.	Residence.
.....	
.....	

In the above plan the county chairman is to organize a league in as many townships as is practicable, which is to be accomplished by addressing a letter to some one in each township requesting that a local league be organized and enclosing a constitution, similar to the one in Appendix III. To facilitate the election of local chairman in order that his name may be forwarded at once to the county committee for use in questioning candidates, the following statement should acompany the constitutions to the townships.

ELECTION OF CHAIRMAN AND TREASURER.

Prompt organization is essential in order that the chairman's name may be forwarded at once to the county chairman for use in questioning candidates. *Charter members will therefore elect members by stating their choice on this sheet:*

For Chairman and Treasurer of the People's Sovereignty League of (name of township) we, the undersigned charter members of the league vote for Mr. ..... for chairman, and Mr. .....for treasurer.

Signatures.

.....

.....

APPENDIX V.

ORGANIZATION OF STATE LEAGUE.

The organization of a State League can be effected in one of several ways. A meeting can be called at some central place in the state. If the time or expense will not warrant such a course, a constitution for a state league can be submitted through the mails for signatures of charter members, at the same time asking for subscriptions to pay the expenses of the league. If each charter member would subscribe the expense he would be to in attending a state meeting, the total would furnish sufficient funds for an effective campaign.

After the state league is started there should be issued at once a charter for each county. The details of the charter are stated in a note.*

In issuing the charter the name of the county chairman can be inserted, and he, if he accepts, can fill in the names of the secretary-treasurer and other members of the executive committee. Or, better still, the name of the chairman can be left blank and the papers sent to the leading men in the county in whom the committee has confidence, asking him to select the chairman, who can fill in the names of the other temporary officers.

If township organization is attempted this year the letter from the county chairman to the township (see preceding appendix), can be printed at state headquarters and mailed with other printed matter to each county committee.

Another addition is the date of issuance and place for signatures of the members of Executive Committees.

Under this plan an entire state can be organized by counties and townships, quickly and quite thoroughly. *The state chairman will need to find only one good man in a county, and each county chairman will have only 30 or 40 envelopes to address and fill.*

This is an especially good year for the work, because the entire body of Organized Labor and many of the Farmers' and Business Men's Associations are questioning candidates, and the political parties are so reactionary that *the progressive people in these parties are driven to do league work if they expect to accomplish anything.* The conditions are ripe for rapid organization.

The needed funds should be pledged when you get the names of the charter members and names of members of Advisory Council.

The clerical work can be paid for. All that is needed, then, to organize a state is the calling of a meeting of the go-ahead men of the city and vicinity to take steps toward mailing out a constitution for charter members, and then oversee the work if you are elected chairman.

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* FORM OF CHARTER. The charter for county organizations can consist of the constitution in Appendix III. except that the preamble and the first article should be as follows:

"To aid in establishing the people's sovereignty in place of trustocracy and then aid in applying the referendum and initiative the following County Constitution of the People's Sovereignty Leage of (name of State) is provided for in the constitution of the State League, subject to amendment in the manner provided in said constitution.

"Article I. NAME. The name of the organization shall be the (name of county) County Branch of the People's Sovereignty League of (name of state)."

The charter should include, also, the following provision:

"ARTICLE IV. TEMPORARY ORGANIZATION. There is hereby appointed as chairman, Mr. ..... of .....; as secretary, Mr. ..... of .....; as treasurer, Mr. ..... of .....; as members of the executive committee, Sirs ..... of ..... of ..... and ..... of ..... They shall hold office until their successors are elected at the regular election unless recalled by the state league."

APPENDIX VI.

VOTERS NON-PARTISAN AGREEMENT.

An Effective System of Campaigning.

If any candidate refuses to pledge for the People's Sovereignty he can be defeated by circulating for signatures the following Voters' Agreement.

Read, sign and mail to address given below.

NON-PARTISAN AGREEMENT OF VOTERS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THEIR OWN SOVEREIGNTY.

"Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land and to all the inhabitants thereof."—(Inscription on Liberty Bell at Philadelphia, 1776).

WHEREAS, It is known to all that in this country there is the Rule of the Few through Representative Government, except where the voters have guarded their sovereignty by taking a Veto Power through the optional referendum and a Direct Initiative; and

WHEREAS, The rule of the few has resulted in SPECIAL PRIVILEGES, one form of which is Private Monopolies in Transportation, such as railroads and the telegraph; and Private Monopolies in Raw Materials, such as coal, iron, salt, etc.; and Private Monopolies in Manufacture and Trade, secured through the monopolies in transportation and raw materials; and so rapid is the increase in the monopolies in raw materials and transportation that if the rule of the few is continued a while longer it will result in a private monopoly in every line of manufacture and trade; and

WHEREAS, experience demonstrates that the remedy is for the people to guard their sovereignty—insist on the establishment of a People's Veto through the optional referendum and a Direct Initiative; but the party managers through their control of party platforms and nominations have steadily refused to install

the system or make its adoption a live issue, an obstruction which now is overcome by the systematic questioning of all legislative candidates by the non-partisan organizations and the securing of a Voters' Agreement—an agreement by the voters that they will support only such candidates for Congress and the Legislatures as pledge in writing that if elected they will vote to establish the sovereignty of those who elect them—establish a People's Veto and Direct Initiative; therefore,

Resolved, That we, the undersigned voters in — (town and state), join with our fellow-citizens in agreeing to vote for such candidates only as promise in writing that, if elected, they will use the power of their office to establish the People's Sovereignty. The details of the proposed system are set forth in the accompanying Addresses and Questions to Candidates for Congress and the Legislature.

Names. Addresses.

.....

PLEASE CIRCULATE THIS FOR SIGNATURES. When signatures are filled in deliver or mail to ..... or any of its members. For additional copies drop a postal to above address, giving your name and street number.

APPENDIX VII.

EFFECTIVE PARTY PROGRAM.

Kentucky Program of 1903—Consistent and Effective.

It is stated in Chapter 25 that from the people's standpoint the program of every one of the political parties is deficient. But there is described an effective program framed two years ago, and reference is made to the following platform adopted at a joint state convention of the People's party of Kentucky and the Labor party of that state:

[*The legislative demands of the parties are recited in the platform and it is said:*

Recognizing that no reform is possible until the majority of the people favor it, and feeling perfectly secure in trusting the welfare of this Commonwealth with a fair and unprejudiced majority of the people, we declare *the most important of all issues to be that of the initiative and referendum, or Majority Rule,* PROVIDING THE OPEN DOOR THROUGH WHICH ALL OTHER REFORMS MAY BE SECURED; *and without deserting or modifying our position on any of the great issues we deem necessary for the advancement of labor,* WE RECOMMEND THAT OUR EFFORTS BE CENTERED UPON THE ISSUE OF MAJORITY RULE IN AN ATTEMPT TO SECURE ITS IMMEDIATE ADOPTION.

In this connection it is therefore

Resolved, That in counties where there are no reform candidates for legislative offices, the labor forces organize to secure practical results, and agree to vote for no man for representative or senator who will not sign the following pledge:

PLEDGE TO BE SIGNED.

"If elected to the legislative office to which I aspire, I agree on my honor as a man and a citizen of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, to vote against any proposed election law which is not absolutely fair to all political parties and does not guarantee to every citizen the full enjoyment of his constitutional rights. I also agree to vote to submit to the people at the next general election a proposed amendment to the constitution of Kentucky providing for the initiative and referendum, by which not over five per cent of the voters of the state or any legal subdivision thereof may demand the submission of a proposed law to a vote of the people before it becomes operative, or may propose a law, and that the people may likewise propose and secure further amendments to the State Constitution."

Resolved, That we call upon all labor and other organizations favoring this principle to join us in demanding pledges from all candidates.

Resolved, That this pledge be submitted to all candidates, and where all sign it that no organized action be taken in favor of or against any candidate, but should only one candidate sign it and others refuse, that reform and labor voters be requested *to support the candidate willing to so pledge himself. Where no candidate will sign this agreement* AN INDEPENDENT CANDIDATE SHOULD BE PLACED IN THE FIELD AND A VIGOROUS CAMPAIGN WAGED ON THESE LINES.

Resolved, That the support given to any candidate signing this pledge be given solely on the ground of principles involved, and that no division of offices or other reward be asked for or accepted.

Resolved, That an Executive Committee of three members, representing both organized labor and the People's party, be appointed to organize the state on these lines and to secure from the various political parties lists of all legislative candidates, and that the above pledge be submitted to all, with the information that unless a reply be received by October 15 it will be considered that the candidate failing to answer is opposed to the principles set forth.

Resolved, That the names of all candidates signing the pledge referred to be published, and copies furnished to all committeemen and workers throughout the state and every reasonable effort put forth to elect those who do so pledge themselves.

Resolved, That under existing circumstances we feel that the nomination of a state ticket [for administrative offices] would be inopportune, but that we recommend to reform and labor voters to use their votes in the most effective manner to purify and uplift the politics of our grand old commonwealth, and to free our citizenship from the domination of political rings, cliques and factions.

Resolved, That we urge upon all friends of labor the importance of demanding union made goods when they go to make purchases, and that they accept no goods that do not bear the union label as a guarantee that they were made by intelligent, fair, union labor.

The campaign was in charge of Hon. Jo. A. Parker. But little organization existed and there were no funds with which to make an effective campaign—no legislation was for sale and therefore the campaign contributions were small. A letter by Mr. Parker to the National Federation for Majority Rule contains the following statement:

NEW STYLE OF THIRD PARTY CAMPAIGN EFFECTIVE.

In all my work I found but little antagonism. The one obstacle was the bitter, unreasonable campaign carried on in this state in which all principle was lost sight of and the issue made on the hanging of Caleb

Powers. The election was a riot of fraud and dishonor, and showed too clearly what little hope there can ever be in partisan action. The last election, not only in Kentucky, but all over the nation has shown that *to gain any substantial reform the lines laid out by the Federation for Majority Rule must be followed—we must concentrate all effort on pledging candidates,* AND IF THIS EFFORT IS SUPPORTED BY INTELLIGENT LOCAL EFFORT WE CAN WIN IN ANY STATE. An instance of this was found in a Senatorial district in this state where Dr. J. S. Dossey had enrolled perhaps 300 volunteers for Majority Rule. The Republican signed our pledge and the Democrat ignoring the matter until after the time limit had expired, *I wrote letters to our workers stating the situation and within forty-eight hours came the Democrat's pledge with a strong letter to support it, declaring that if elected would give our bill his hearty support.*

APPENDIX VIII.

MICHIGAN NON-PARTISAN SYSTEM.

Advisory Referendum in State Affairs Advocated.

In Michigan the last annual convention of the State Federation of Labor, September, 1903, instructed that the Secretary-Treasurer issue a circular letter to all labor organizations in the state requesting them to secure from all the legislative candidates in their districts satisfactory pledges for the referendum and initiative, also to request the unions to circulate for signatures a Voters' Agreement, wherein the subscribing citizens agree not to vote for any legislative candidate who has failed to pledge.

The resolution further says:

That, inasmuch as there already is a practicable organization in this state for that purpose known as the *Direct Legislation League of Michigan* the Secretary-Treasurer is hereby further instructed to furnish them, before the end of this year, with the addresses of all labor organizations in this state as well as to supply them with the necessary number of copies of said circular letter, properly attested, with the seal of this organization.

The system of the initiative and referendum that is being worked for in Michigan is the submission of a constitutional amendment, and a further provision is described as follows:

As a constitutional amendment in this state requires a two-thirds majority in each branch, and as we may fail to obtain the requisite number in one or the other of them and as each body can make its own rules by a plain majority *a provision has been inserted in the "Candidate's Pledge" pledging him also to a rule of procedure by means of which* WE MAY ATTAIN THE SAME OBJECT DURING THE LIFE OF THE LEGISLATURE, PROVIDED WE ELECT A MAJORITY IN EACH HOUSE AND THEY HONOR THEIR PLEDGES AND DO NOT SUSPEND THE RULE. *This course has been adopted by the Common Council of the City of Detroit and has been kept inviolate by that body for the last two years.*

APPENDIX IX.

MISSOURIANS HAVE WON THROUGH NON-PARTISAN SYSTEM.

MR. ELTWEED POMEROY, president of the National Direct Legislation League, in an article in the *Nebraska Independent*, August 25, 1904, said:

To many people the word lobbying is like as a red rag to a bull. To a few people in Missouri it seemed the only way to get any real legislation. So a few of the faithful organized a direct legislation league some three or four years ago and got a direct legislation amendment introduced into the legislature, and they were able to bring enough influence to bear to get it to a vote. Of course it was defeated.

Then they paid a small salary to one of their number, Mr. S. L. Moser, and his expenses. Mr. Moser is a lawyer, tactful, able, a thoroughly devoted man. *He traveled back and forth over the state saying they would do all they could to kill off every man who was renominated who had voted against direct legislation, no matter what his party, and that they would throw all their strength to those candidates who would pledge themselves to direct legislation.*

His position was invulnerable. He wanted no office, job or contract for himself, and they could not hurt him that way. He did not openly espouse any party, though I personally know he has strong political convictions. Some of the men he opposed called him some rather hard names, but he smiled back and said: "Come out for direct legislation and we won't hurt you." He did not oppose or advocate candidates on other grounds than direct legislation *and he mainly tried to prevent the nomination of candidates opposed to direct legislation.*

He traveled up and down and back and across old Missouri for a year with this singleness of purpose and back of him was shrewd, patient, semi-invalid, Dr. William P. Hill, of St. Louis, and others, financing, writing letters, pulling wires. Toward the end, the trade unions, under Mr. Sarman's lead, commenced questioning candidates on direct legislation. [See page 80 above.]

When the legislature was elected, *only one man who had voted against the direct legislation amendment in the previous legislature, was re-elected, and a majority of the legislature were pledged to vote for a direct legislation amendment that should have a five per cent condition for a referendum petition and an eight per cent for the initiative.*

But the 1903 Missouri legislation was the culmination of the corruption in Missouri and rottenness in legislation. Of course, the venal politicians did not want direct legislation and they only pledged themselves to it because they did not well see how they could help it. Of course they did not intend to keep these pledges, and their masters, the bribing corporations, did not mean to have it either.

But Moser and Sarman, aided by some others, camped on their trail for three or four months and by honest lobbying *they forced the legislature to pass a direct legislation amendment.* * * * Now it goes to the people for a vote and quiet but determined Dr. Hill has persuaded the Democrats to put the following in their state platform:

"We congratulate the people of the State on the fulfillment of the party's pledge, made in its platform two years ago, to submit for the voters' approval a constitutional amendment which, if adopted at the November election, will always secure to the people a veto power over bad legislation, as well as a means of initiating new measures when desired, thus rendering ineffective the results of corrupt methods in legislation and lessening the inducements to the same."

And then he visited the republican convention, having previously pulled some wires, and here is the result in the following plank from the republican state platform:

"We condemn the insincerity of the Democratic party in proposing a plan of initiative and referendum so cumbrous as to make its operation impracticable, and we are in favor of a just and honest measure that shall give to the people of this state the largest control of and participation in legislation and government."

Dr. Hill has also gotten letters from the state chairman urging their voters to vote for it.

Thus much has persistent, honest lobbying accomplished, but back of it is the growing sentiment of the people which this lobbying focused on the legislature.

A large majority is wanted for this amendment. If you can, *aid in increasing its vote. If you are in another state, can you not follow this example?*

APPENDIX X.

THE "LID" OFF IN MISSOURI.

An Example of How the Machine Operates.

Hon. Joseph Folk, the state's attorney in St. Louis, Missouri, who has been exposing "machine" politics, is reported as follows by Frank G. Carpenter in the *Washington Evening Star*, August 27, 1904. Mr. Folk said:

"For twenty years past St. Louis has been in the hands of a ring just large enough to control the city legislature and override the mayor's veto, *and this ring has levied blackmail upon every license, privilege and franchise granted by the city. Laws have been unblushingly sold to the highest bidder. The ring has tried to sell the waterworks, the court house and the Union market for its own enrichment. Nothing has been safe from its avarice, not even the sewer pipes in the ground.* It has had its regular schedules of bribe prices, based upon what each business would stand, ranging from a few hundred dollars for a switch bill to thousands of dollars for a franchise. Indeed, I believe as much as $10,000,000 has been paid out in blackmail on such accounts.

"The business has been done by a continuous gang of nineteen and their subordinates," continued Mr. Folk. "It took nineteen votes to control the city council, and these nineteen men passed upon what legislation should be enacted and how much they should be paid for each act or franchise. At one time the combine received $47,500 for an ordinance to light the city. The bargain was made on the floor of the house of delegates and the money was handed over to one of the combine. After voting the nineteen met at the house of one of their number, and the host sat at the piano and played 'Home, Sweet Home,' while the money was distributed in $2,500 lots."

I asked Mr. Folk about the Central Traction deal of 1898, out of which a New York promoter made almost $1,000,000. He replied:

"That was for a franchise which covered nearly all the street railways of the city. The promoter, a man named Snyder, gave $250,000 in bribes to the municipal assembly to get it. He paid twenty-five out of the twenty-eight members of the house of delegates $3,000 each and the seven members of the council from $10,000 to $17,000 each. One councilman took $25,000 from other parties to vote against the franchise, but returned it when he found that he could get $50,000 from the promoter to vote in its favor. He gave back the first amount, saying he did not think he could honestly earn it. That franchise was sold by the promoter for $1,250,000, so that he made a clean million out of the transaction. The city did not receive one cent for all the streets given away."

APPENDIX XI.

SOCIALIST DOCTRINE.

(CONTINUED FROM CHAPTER 37.)

Part I. Revolutionary Socialism Opposed to *Immediate* Establishment of Referendum System in Governmental Affairs.

Socialists are of two great classes, Revolutionary socialists and Step-by-Step socialists. (Fabian socialists). On one side the program is for a sudden change from the existing system to the public ownership of *all* the means of production and distribution—a confiscation of private property, with government ownership and operation of all the industries. This is the revolutionary program. The opposite program is gradual public ownership of industries, paying for the properties acquired.

As between these two sets of political theories, history demonstrates that *the establishment of the people's power through the referendum and initiative is a sure preventative for the revolutionary program.* Swiss history demonstrates this, as also does the referendum voting in America. This is realized by the revolutionary socialists, therefore they oppose the immediate establishment of the people's sovereignty, claiming, and very properly, that it will not give fruition to the revolutionary program. In the words of Walter Thomas

Mills, in his book published last April, "The Struggle for Existence":

But the effort to carry any measure so radical and so far-reaching as the measures which the Socialists propose, by a referendum vote, is like an effort to compel the obedience of an armed and organized army by simply declaring the wishes of an unarmed and unorganized mob.

To the same effect is the following quotation from an article by Mr. A. M. Simon, editor of the *International Socialist Review*, published in the *Direct Legislation Record*, June, 1901:

The Socialist holds that *to-day* the system of individual ownership and distribution of the common product and means of production has reached a point where they must be owned and controlled by the conscious collectivity.

When this *has been done*, and the question arises as to *how* this new social organization, which has developed from the old, shall be managed, the Social Democracy, as its name indicates, declares that every facility must be offered for the popular will to make itself felt. (Original not italicized.)

To the same effect is the following statement in a preceding paragraph:

The tendency [of the Initiative and Refcrendum] would be *to prolong the present economic system* [capitalistic system] because of the great opportunity that would be offered for making small tinkering repairs to the structure that should be *completely remade.*"

Mr. Earnest Untermann, associate editor of the *Appeal to Reason*, wrote the following to Mr. Shibley, January 7, 1903:

The very fact that capitalistic parties advocate direct legislation and government ownership, is an evidence of the advanced stage of our political development, *and we socialists are glad to be relieved of advocating reforms* THAT DO NOT TOUCH THE BASIS OF CAPITALISM. * * * You cannot claim to represent a movement that will free the working class from capitalist rule.

BLOODSHED AND CONFISCATION THE REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST PROGRAM.

From the above it is clear that the aim of the socialist machine is that it shall come into power and proceed at once to appropriate all the means of production and distribution. To do this it is expected that the army and navy must be employed. In the words of Walter Thomas Mills in his chapter on Labor Unions and Socialism in his new book, "The Struggle for Existence":

For the Socialist teacher will teach the new lesson [to the Labor Unionist] *and the Socialist army and navy in its final contest with capitalism will dispose of the oppressor* and then dispose of the militarism which made the oppressor in the first place.

From the foregoing it is plainly evident that revolutionary socialism is opposed to the *immediate* establishment of the referendum system in government affairs.

Part II. Revolutionary Socialism Opposed to Labor Unions.

Revolutionary socialism is opposed, also, to Labor Unions, and for the same reason that it objects to the immediate establishment of the people's sovereignty in governmental affairs. It is claimed that progress demands the *immediate* public ownership of all the means of production and distribution and therefore that the centering of efforts upon trade agreements between employers and employees is worse than a waste of time.

Granting the premise the deduction is logical. People who believe in revolutionary socialism feel that the trade unions should declare for socialism and center their efforts upon the goal.

This attitude of the socialists is reflected in the proceedings of labor union conventions. Said President Gompers in a speech at the last annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, at Boston:

I shall not refer at this time to their [the Socialists'] very many detailed acts of treachery to the trade union movement; but I shall refer to some of the declarations made upon the floor of this convention by delegates participating in this discussion and show you that though they may believe themselves to be trade unionists they are at heart and logically the antagonists of our movement.

Discussing the socialist attitude, President Gompers continued:

Their statements as to economic ills are right, their conclusions and their philosophy are all askew. * * *

I want to tell you Socialists that I have studied your philosophy; read your works upon economics, and not the meanest of them; studied your standard works, both in English and German—have not only read, but studied them. I have heard your orators and watched the work of your movement the world over. I have kept close watch upon your doctrines for thirty years; have been closely associated with many of you, and know how you think and what you propose. I know, too, what you have up your sleeve. And I want to say that I am entirely at variance with your philosophy. I declare it to you, I am not only at variance with your doctrines, but with your philosophy.

Economically, you are unsound; socially, you are wrong; industrially, you are an impossibility.

SUGGESTED RESOLUTION FOR GRANGE, BOARD OF TRADE OR OTHER NON-PARTISAN BODY.

Whereas, There is a widespread movement for questioning the legislative candidates of all the parties as to whether, if elected, they will vote for the establishment of the people's sovereignty in place of trust rule; therefore,

RESOLVED, That ..... directs the chairman to appoint a committee
(Name of Organization.)
of three to question the legislative candidates in this district as to the establishment of the People's Sovereignty and give to their replies the widest possible publicity. (See also Chapters 33, 34, 35.)

KEEP IN TOUCH WITH THE NON-PARTISAN PROGRAM

BY SUBSCRIBING FOR THE

PENNSYLVANIA GRANGE NEWS

ISSUED MONTHLY ONLY 20 CENTS PER YEAR

Every citizen is in duty bound to assist in Establishing the People's Sovereignty. The least you can reasonably do is to subscribe for the Official Magazine that will keep you informed of the progress of the movement.

ACTIVE CHAMPIONSHIP OF REFERENDUM SYSTEM IN BOTH THE GREAT PARTIES.

The Democratic national convention of 1900 declared for the referendum and initiative, but the party leadership has changed and is opposed to the people's sovereignty.

In three states, however, where the Democratic party *is in power*, the machine is pushing the reform as rapidly as possible. Where the party is in the minority it is pledged to the referendum and initiative.

It is the Republican states, however, that have first established the people's sovereignty. The following is an editorial of two years ago, in the leading Republican paper of Missouri, *The Globe-Democrat*:

As far as the Referendum principle has been *applied* in this country *the Republican party has led the way.*

Preceding this declaration the editorial heartily approved the referendum system. Shortly afterward the leading evening Republican paper of St. Louis, *The Evening Star*, in an editorial said:

The Referendum and the Initiative ar · pri ciples so eminently just that, *sooner or later, they must be incorporated as cardinal principles in the foundations of all governments.*

IT IS NOT IMPROBABLE THAT THE NEXT NATIONAL REPUBLICAN PLATFORM MAY CONTAIN A PLANK INDORSING BOTH PRINCIPLES, AND, IF SO, THAT PROVISION WILL BE ALMOST UNIVERSALLY INDORSED, provided the people can be brought to a full understanding of them.

State conventions of the Republican party are declaring for the system in some of the Southern states and in Missouri, for it is a minority party. But in practically every Northern state there are declarations by Republican county conventions. For example, in Los Angeles, California, on August 16th, the following platform was enunciated by the Republican county convention:

We believe that the power to make laws originates fundamentally with the people, and favor the passage by the next legislature of an amendment to the constitution to be presented to the voters of the state which will grant to the people the right of the initiative and referendum in state, county and municipal legislation, in accordance with the plans set forth in the bill which passed the assembly at the last session of the legislature.

TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION LABEL HARRISBURG